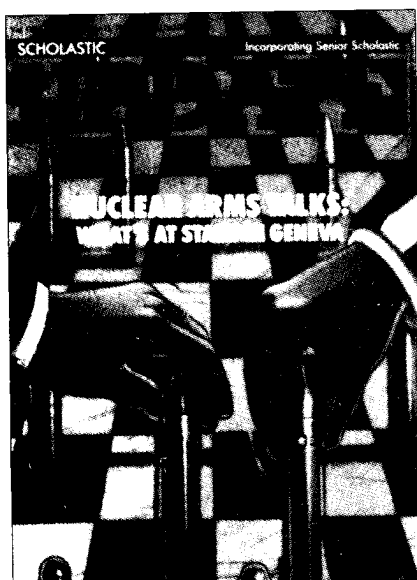


# UPDATE

## TEACHERS' EDITION

NOVEMBER 15, 1985 • VOL. 118, NO. 6 (ISSN 0745-7065)

MINIPOSTER INSIDE:  
"How Nuclear Weaponry Has Changed"



Cover of Student Edition:  
"What's at Stake at Geneva"

## ABOUT THIS ISSUE

**R**ecently, the Educational Testing Service of Princeton, New Jersey, conducted a study of what U.S. high school students know about recent and not-so-recent history. They discovered in U.S. high school seniors a "devastating" lack of knowledge about their country and the world.

Some of the findings:

- Two thirds of the nation's seniors don't know whether the Civil War took place before or after 1850.
- Three fourths of them can't identify Walt Whitman or Carl Sandburg.
- Half don't know who Winston Churchill or Joseph Stalin were.
- Six out of seven can't point out the Soviet Union on a map.

As a social studies professional, you may not find these figures terribly newsworthy. But they shocked John Agresto, the acting chief of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH). Americans, he said, "know less today about their culture and history than at any other time in our nation's history." In hopes of addressing the problem, NEH will make grants to students, teachers, and groups that promote novel approaches to the study of history.

UPDATE applauds NEH's efforts in this area. History has always been an important part of each issue of UPDATE. Our goal is to make your students see how a knowledge of history can help them make sense of their world. We think you will find that this issue's history feature—on disarmament talks since 1899—achieves that goal as well as any.

—The Editors

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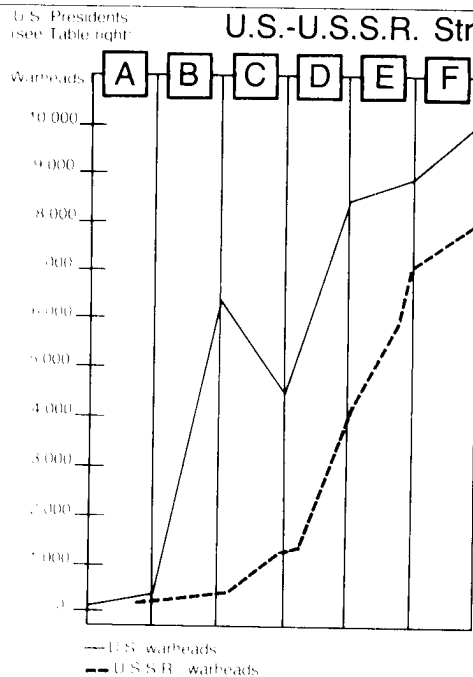
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### ISSUE DATES FOR THIS YEAR

Sept. 6	Sept. 20	Oct. 4	Oct. 18	Nov. 1	Nov. 15	Nov. 29	Dec. 13	Jan. 10
Jan. 24	Feb. 7	Feb. 21	Mar. 7	Mar. 21	Apr. 4	Apr. 18	May 2	May 16

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**SCHOLASTIC UPDATE PRE-TEST**

**Total Defense Budget in First and Last Year of Term (in 1984 \$ billions)**

President		
A. Truman	1945/\$79.5	1951/\$45.1
B. Eisenhower	1952/\$57.1	1960/\$40.3
C. Kennedy/Johnson	1961/\$44.6	1968/\$75.0
D. Nixon/Ford	1969/\$77.8	1976/\$106.7
E. Carter	1977/\$118.9	1980/\$142.2
F. Reagan	1981/\$176.1	1984/\$273.0

Source: Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense

**General Directions:** On the line to the left of each statement, write the letter of the choice that best completes the statement or answers the question.

**A. ARMS COSTS**

Base each answer on the graphics above.

- \_\_\_ 1. After 1952, how many times did the number of Soviet nuclear warheads equal those of the U.S.? (a) never; (b) once; (c) twice
- \_\_\_ 2. Over the past 4 decades, the U.S. defense budget has increased by almost (a) 50% (b) 150%; (c) 250%.
- \_\_\_ 3. During whose administration did U.S. nuclear warheads increase at the fastest rate? (a) Reagan's; (b) Nixon's; (c) Eisenhower's
- \_\_\_ 4. By what rate did the U.S. defense spending increase during President Reagan's first term? (a) almost 100%; (b) between 70-80%; (c) about 55%
- \_\_\_ 5. By comparison with the 1970s, the Soviet stockpile of nuclear warheads has been growing since 1980 (a) at the same rate; (b) at a slower rate; (c) at a more rapid rate.

**B. MATCH 'EM  
Column A**

- |           |                          |
|-----------|--------------------------|
| a. Geneva | f. sub-launched missiles |
| b. SALT I | g. Space Defense         |
| c. cruise | h. The Hague             |
| d. NATO   | i. MX                    |
| e. London |                          |

**Column B**

- \_\_\_ 1. radar-dodging missile
- \_\_\_ 2. site of 1985 nuclear arms talks
- \_\_\_ 3. part of defense "triad"
- \_\_\_ 4. freeze on land and sea missiles
- \_\_\_ 5. proposed "shield" against nukes
- \_\_\_ 6. site of first multinational arms-control talks

**C. TRUE (T) OR FALSE (F)?**

- \_\_\_ 1. The U.S. recently challenged the U.S.S.R. to reduce 50% of their long-range nuclear weapons.
- \_\_\_ 2. Nuclear arms discussions (START) broke down in 1983 when the U.S. walked out of the talks, following the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.
- \_\_\_ 3. President Reagan has refused to make the so-called "Star Wars" research a bargaining chip with the Soviets.

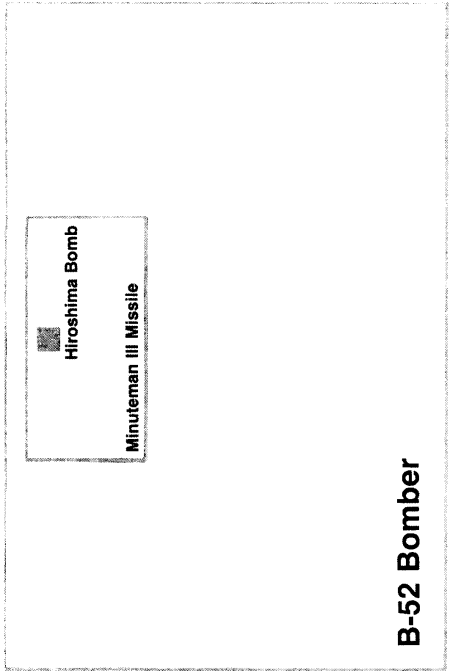
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# HOW NUCLEAR WEAPONRY HAS CHANGED

## GROWTH IN EXPLOSIVE FORCE

(Areas are proportional to the yield of the weapon.)



## Trident Submarine

The atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, on August 6, 1945, leveled an area nearly three miles in diameter. Scientists estimate its force at 13 kilotons, equal to the force produced by 13,000 tons of the conventional explosive, TNT. Though mighty, the Hiroshima bomb packed only a fraction of the wallop of today's nuclear weapons, as this chart makes clear. The labeled areas are sectioned in proportion to the power each weapon yields.

The *Minuteman III missile*, the backbone of our land-based nuclear arsenal, has an explosive force 25 times as large as the Hiroshima bomb. The missile carries three warheads, each with 335 kilotons of explosive power. Some 550 Minuteman IIIs are planted underground in U.S. silos.

The *B-52 bomber*, the workhorse of our air-based nuclear force, is an even more devastating weapon than the Minuteman III. Typically, one B-52 carries four 2-megaton bombs. Each bomb contains the power of 2 million tons of TNT. B-52s

also carry eight short-range nuclear attack missiles, each with a force of 170 to 200 kilotons. Thus, the total explosive power of a single B-52 is more than 700 times that of the Hiroshima bomb.

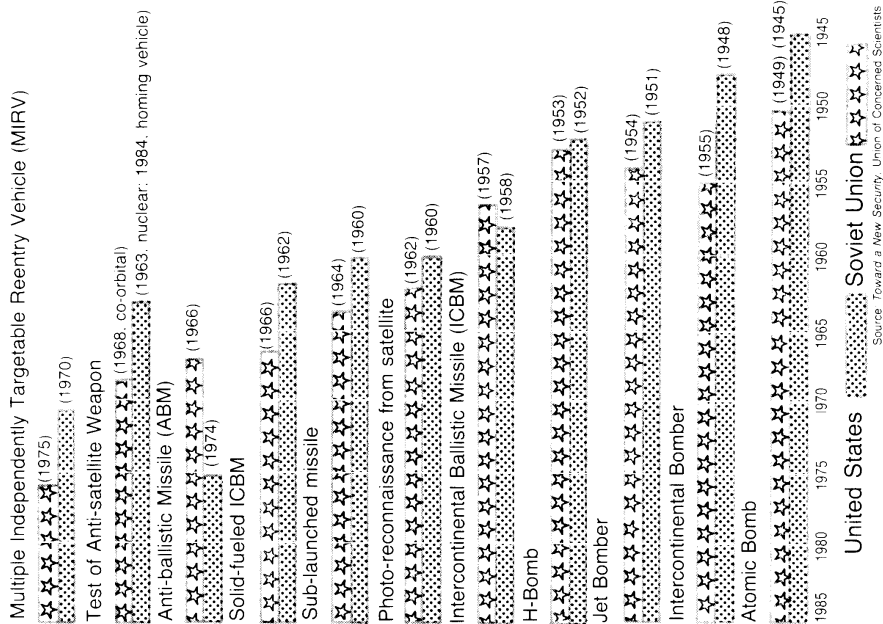
The U.S. has about 240 B-52s in service. Almost 100 of them carry 12 air-launched cruise missiles, essentially pilotless airplanes, each with a nuclear yield of about 200 kilotons.

The *Trident submarine* is the most powerful weapon in our nuclear force. Tridents are gradually replacing the old Poseidon submarines. A Trident sub carries 24 missiles, each one presently able to lift eight 100-kiloton warheads into space. Eventually, the U.S. plans to float 20 Trident subs. They will be equipped with newer missiles, each able to carry eight independently targetable, highly accurate 475-kiloton warheads.

Source: Nuclear Weapons Databook (Baling, 1985)

## THE U.S.-U.S.S.R. NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

(When innovations were first tested or deployed—and then matched by the other side)



Source: Toward a New Security Union of Concerned Scientists

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(Continued from page TE-3.)  
 added value, include the terms in this week's Wordpower (page 31).  
**Evaluate.** You might want to use the following True-False quiz, plus essay:  
 (a) Both superpowers have a "triad" of nuclear weapons, including land, water (sub) and space units. (False.  
*The third leg of the Triad is airborne*)

(b) The Soviets have more land-based ICBMs than the U.S. (True)  
 (c) Altogether, the U.S. has more nuclear warheads than the U.S.S.R. (True)  
 (d) Most U.S. nuclear warheads are on submarines. (True)  
 (e) Soviet SS-20 missiles are aimed at

missiles, not space weapons.)  
 (f) The U.S. has set up long-range ICBMs in West Europe. (True)  
 (g) U.S. INF-force missiles are in Europe. (True)  
**ESSAY:** Write a 50-word telegram to one of your U.S. Senators, urging a YES (or NO) vote on U.S. funds for SDI.

## LESSON 3

### What Goes On At Disarmament Talks

**Content (Government, page 12; plus Economics, Shapers, and Data-Bank, see pages below).** Superpower negotiation—1985 "rules", plus the motives and goals behind arms-control talks, the leaders who currently influence them, and the facts and figures under negotiation.

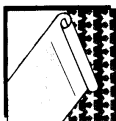
**Objectives.** With these features, you can ask students to (1) identify the motives that bring the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to the arms negotiations table; (2) produce priority lists or agendas for the U.S. negotiations team.

**Introduction.** Before students approach the article dealing with the content of current arms negotiations, read the following analogy and then ask: *What went wrong?*

*Two shoppers sought possession of the last orange for sale. They argued their rights, threw insults at each other, lined up other shoppers as allies. Finally, in weariness, they agreed to split the cost of the orange and cut it in half. The owner of one half pecked it, threw away the rind, and ate the inside. When he got home, the owner of the other half pecked it, threw away the inside, and used the rind to flavor a cake icing.*

Your class will recognize that the analogy between the orange-peckers and today's arms negotiators is limited. But after discussing the shoppers' failure to discuss their bottom-line, basic needs (goals), students will be ready to ask whether U.S. and U.S.S.R. negotiators are probing their own bottom-line needs (the effort of each country to ensure security for its country).

**Activities. 1.** After students read the article on negotiating teams, ask them to consider the personal rules a U.S. negotiator is probably expected to follow.



low. Have them rate then discuss each of the following suggestions (1 equals "Very Poor", 5 is "Excellent"):  
 (a) Know every detail about the subject being discussed, or at least know where to find it within a few seconds.  
 (b) If you believe your opponent is trustworthy, treat him/her that way.  
 (c) Don't admit your mistakes or lack of knowledge to your supervisors.  
 (d) Use every opportunity to get to know your counterpart personally.  
 (e) Interrupt if the opponent seems to be making a point in his/her favor.  
 (f) If an opponent makes an insulting remark, get up and walk out.  
 (g) If an opponent privately offers a good proposal, agree immediately.  
 2. The Government feature on current negotiations brings out the function of "backstoppers"—individuals who are expert in a particular topic (type of weapon, verification, etc.) under negotiation. You might want to play up this function in a simulation of the Geneva talks.

Assign a team of U.S. negotiators, assign other students to be backstoppers in various "fields" covered in our UPDATE feature: (a) The hard data on arms strength is in our Data-Bank (page 2) and the Special Report (see previous lesson); (b) U.S. goals for space defense are in our debate feature (pages 8-9); (c) Economic pressures on both superpowers are reviewed in the article on pages 10-11; (d) Our Shapers feature (pages 21-22) adds further details on the positions of both sides.

Have the negotiating team assume they are in Geneva, privately reviewing the negotiating proposal by the Soviets. *The U.S.S.R. will reduce its warheads and each type of strategic missile by 50 percent, if the U.S.*

**Answers to (a) reduce its warheads by half, (b) remove all INF missiles from Europe, and (c) halt research in space weapons.**  
 Effect (a) what questions they would ask their backstoppers (and the answers they would get); (b) what response they would prepare for the Soviets — *Patricia Coniff, Teaching Guide Editor*

## ANSWERS

**Crossword, p. 32**  
 Across: 1. idea; 4. missile; 7. jet; 8. RE; 10. Iowa; 12. Test 14; VCR; 16. rd.; 17. Ban; 19. re; 21. Mr.; 22. T.M.; 23. U.S.S.R.; 24. mega-; 25. A.S.; 26. AR; 27. in; 28. Del.; 30. We; 31. a.k.a.; 33. sup.; 34. Lear; 36. sci.; 37. MAD; 39. weapons; 40. NATO.  
 Down: 2. deterring; 3. A.L.I.; 4. MIRV; 5. SDI; 6. ERA; 9. ICBMs; 11. Warsaw Pact; 13. trial; 15. RA; 18. makes; 20. err; 21. MIM; 22. talks; 29. cut; 32. arms; 34. jaw; 35. R.I.P.; 38. an.

**Wordsearch, p. 32**  
 Horizontal: Karpov, Nuclear, Einstein, ABM, Bomb, Bang, Freeze, War.  
 Vertical: Initiative, Defense, Seas, Summit, U.S.S.R., Run, Strategic, Diagram, Stagnate, SALT, Detente, Sleight, Kremlin, START.  
 Left-to-right: Fogel, Bottom, Vantage, Tragic, Moscow, Cameron, Bismarck, Riddle, to hide them from "Mao's cow".

**Pre-Test, page TE-2**  
 A. 1-a; 2-c; 3-c; 4-c; 5-b; 6-b; 1-c; 2-a; 3-c; 4-b; 5-g; 6-b; C. 1-F; 2-F; 3-T  
**Post-Test, page TE-7**  
 A. 1-F (North Atlantic Treaty Organization); 2-G (Anti-Ballistic Missile); 3-c (Strategic Defense Initiative); 4-a (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty); 5-b (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks); B. 1-c; 2-b; 3-a; 4-b; 5-d; 6-b; D. In order of size, (b) equals 35% of the pie; (a) 16%; E. Item 2, 3, 4, and 5 occurred long before 1985; (d) 40% 20% (c) 20%.

**Skills Review, page TE-8.**  
 Answers and explanations will vary.

## LESSON 1

### Past Arms Talks Have Produced Few Gains

**Content (History, pages 23-25, plus Sociology, page 30, and TE Poster).** Arms-reduction talks, initiated by the Russians, have been going on for almost 90 years.  
**Objectives.** With this material you can ask students to (1) list major arms-reduction efforts since the turn of the century; (2) identify four or five elements common to these efforts; (3) form generalizations about the limited success of past talks and treaties.

**Introduction.** This week's Sociology feature (page 29) offers students a less daunting approach to the topic of arms control than plunging them directly into the background data and debates of the current talks in Geneva.

The feature describes a recent visit to Soviet high school "peace meetings" by a group of American teens. UPDATE's correspondent in Moscow joined them and reports exchanges between Soviet and U.S. teens—inside and outside the classroom.  
 Do the Russians really want peace? Is arms control a popular—or even realistic—goal? After discussing



teens' attitudes reported in the Sociology article, students should be ready for the broader perspective covered in the History feature, which begins with an account of an arms reduction conference called by a Russian czar in 1898.

**Questions to Guide Reading.** Suggest that students look for answers to the following questions as they read the History feature: (1) What events or circumstances have moved nations to seek arms control in the past? (2) Why have past efforts to control arms succeeded—or failed?

**Activities. 1.** If there is time for pre-class planning by students, have a group of them turn the Sociology feature into a role play to present to the rest of the class at the beginning of the class period.  
 A narrator could read the introductory and explanatory remarks, with other students reading (and perhaps, slightly dramatizing) the Soviet and American teens' comments to one another. Have the "actors" take follow-up questions from the "audience."



## LESSON 2

### Long- and Medium-range Nuclear Weapons, and the "Star Wars" Space Defense

**Contents (Special Report, pgs 4 to 7).**

Question-and-answer summaries on U.S., U.S.S.R. strategic and intermediate nuclear arms, and on proposed space weapons.

**Objectives.** With this feature, you can ask students to (1) identify and define the three basic categories of weapons now being discussed in U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms-reduction talks; (2) explain the military advantages of each type of weapon; (3) draw conclusions about the relative strengths of the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. in each weapon area.

**Introduction.** At first glance, the content of our Special Report—one mini-study each of strategic nuclear arms, intermediate-range nuclear arms, and space weapons—may seem a tough lesson to chew.

Urge students to consider this: Since there is every possibility that

(Do the Russian students fill our image of the term "enemy"—or are they like American teens? Where does the deadly rivalry between both nations start?)

2. Suggest that students **skim-read** the History feature to find common elements among this century's many arms-control efforts. Or, give the following list to students and ask them, as they read, to underline or check examples of their occurrence: (a) the role of new technologies in renewing or spurring arms talks; (b) the attempt to outlaw certain types of weapons or war practices; (c) the problem of using inspection to verify that treaties are being kept; (d) the question of who should judge a breach of treaty; (e) attitudes of political leaders, business groups, and "the populace" toward the question of arms control.

3. Show students the poster on current nuclear weapons (pages TE-4, 5 in your Teacher's Edition). Ask: Which seems to have gained more since 1945: . . . the arms race, or arms-control talks?

**Evaluation:** This may be a good point to administer the Pre-Test on page TE-2 of your Teacher's Edition.

(threat) of each kind of weapon system (strategic, intermediate, and space)? (2) Where does each nation plan to deploy these weapons? (3) Which nation, really, seems to have the defense/offense advantage? (Even while discussing this question, some readers may want to raise another: Does either nation have an "advantage" in depending on nuclear arms?)

**Activities. 1.** Break students into small groups (two to four students). Assign each group ONE of the three reports on these pages. Suggest that each group look for answers to the questions in the preceding paragraph. Have them underline or write answers to facilitate **group reporting** and **class discussion. 2.** Have students contribute to making and then playing a nuclear-arms "trivia" game. Have each student write one of UPDATE's questions on one side of an index card and place the answer on the reverse.

Pool these, review them, and then have two teams play the game. (Please turn to page TE-6)

# UPDATE

## NUCLEAR ARMS TALKS: WHAT'S AT STAKE IN GENEVA

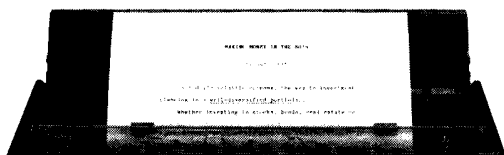




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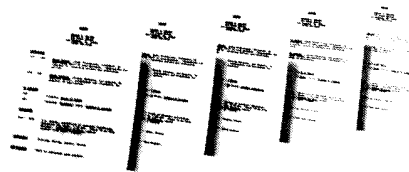


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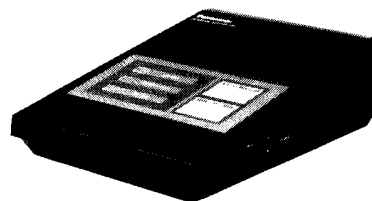
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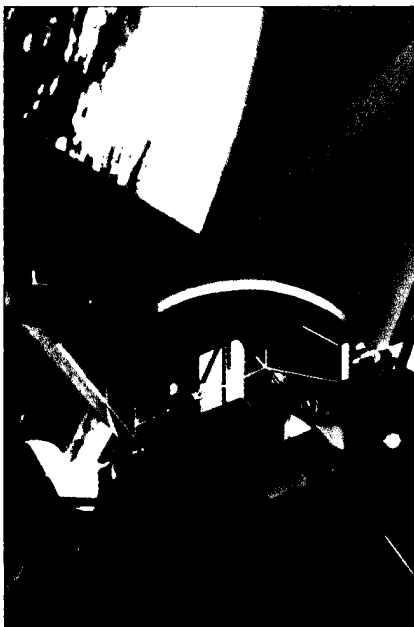
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# UPDATE<sup>®</sup>

November 15, 1985 ■ Vol. 118, No. 6

## What's at Stake in Geneva



Department of Defense

President Reagan's plan for a high-tech "Star Wars" shield against enemy warheads is one of the issues dividing U.S. and Soviet negotiators. This issue of UPDATE tells why—and what each side wants from arms control talks.

### 2 DataBank: Nuclear Forces—What Both Sides Have

An easy-to-read comparison of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals—where, how many, and what kind of weapons each side has.

### 3 Renewed Hope for a Major Breakthrough

Hopes are high for next week's meeting between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, the first superpower summit in six years.

### 4 Goal of Strategic Talks: Shrinking the "Triads"

Both the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals are divided into "triads"—weapons launched from land, sea, and air. Here's why each side holds an edge.

### 6 Medium-range Missile Talks Face Snags

Before deciding on how to reduce nuclear weapons in Europe, U.S. and Soviet negotiators must agree on which weapons to count. So far, they don't.

### 7 Space Arms Talks Focus on "Star Wars"

The U.S. says its plan for a defensive shield against enemy attack would make the world safer. The Soviets fear it will start a new arms race in space.

### 8 "Star Wars" Debate: One for, One Against

Two exclusive essays: one by a top Presidential arms control adviser, one by a former U.S. defense secretary, now a leading critic of U.S. policy.

### 10 Money Worries That Shape the Talks

There's more at stake in Geneva than military security. Neither side can afford to forget its economic well-being, too.

### 12 What Goes On at Disarmament Talks

While the negotiators work out the details, it's the leaders at the top who decide what to say and what kind of deal to bargain for.

### 21 Ten Who Seek Nuclear Security at Geneva

Capsule profiles of the policy shapers and negotiators who will determine what kind of arms control agreement the Geneva talks produce.

### 23 Why Past Arms Talks Have Produced Few Gains

A look at the world's first arms control efforts shows how national rivalries and mutual suspicions have always gotten in the way of reducing weapons.

### 29 U.S. and Soviet Teenagers: "Citizen Diplomats"

U.S. teenagers who visited the Soviet Union found that Soviet teenagers are much different and more like them than they had ever imagined.

### 31 Wordpower

An arms negotiator's vocabulary that will let you talk with the experts.

### 32 Puzzle Page

A Crossword, a Wordsearch, and a Scrambler—all on nuclear arms talks.

**NEXT TIME (Nov. 29): Marriage, Careers, and the New Equality.** How have changes in the workplace affected the way couples relate to one another? Do two-paycheck marriages face special strains? Answers to these questions and more in a close-up look at the impact of economic change on society's key institution.

Cover illustration: Earl Keleny

Maurice R. Robinson, founder of Scholastic Inc., 1895-1982

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NOVEMBER 15, 1985 ■ 1

# NUCLEAR FORCES: WHAT BOTH SIDES HAVE

## United States

## Soviet Union

### STRATEGIC FORCES (LONG-RANGE WEAPONS)

**1,025** ballistic missiles with a total of **2,125** warheads.

**36** submarines with 640 missiles that have a total of **5,728** warheads.

**263** B-52 bombers (98 of which carry 12 air-launched cruise missiles each) with a total of **3,072** warheads.

**61** FB-111 bombers with a total of **366** warheads.

**1,398** ballistic missiles with a total of **6,420** warheads.

**62** submarines with 924 missiles that have a total of **2,688** warheads.

**173** bombers (25 with 10 air-launched cruise missiles each) with a total of **792** warheads.

### EUROPEAN THEATER FORCES (MEDIUM-RANGE WEAPONS)

About **90** Pershing IIs with **1** warhead each.

**128** ground-launched cruise missiles with **1** warhead each.

**222** bombers with a total of about **850** bombs.

**1,417** tactical fighter bombers with a total of **3,140** bombs.

**270** SS-20s with **3** warheads each.

**171** others are aimed at Asia but could be moved to face Europe.

Less than **100** SS-4s with **1** warhead each.

**884** bombers with a total of **3,536** bombs.

**2,500** tactical fighter bombers with a total of **4,800** bombs.

#### What U.S. Allies Have

*Britain has 64 missiles with up to three warheads each on 4 submarines. France has 18 land-based missiles with 1 warhead each and 176 warheads on 6 submarines.*

*Britain has 25 bombers with 2 bombs each. France has 28 bombers with 1 bomb each.*

### SPACE AND DEFENSIVE WEAPONS

[Includes Ballistic Missile Defense (BMD) weapons and Anti-Satellite (ASAT) weapons.]

One anti-ballistic missile system, judged too costly and ineffective, was scrapped.

Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), nicknamed "Star Wars," a \$25 billion research program on space-based, advanced defense system.

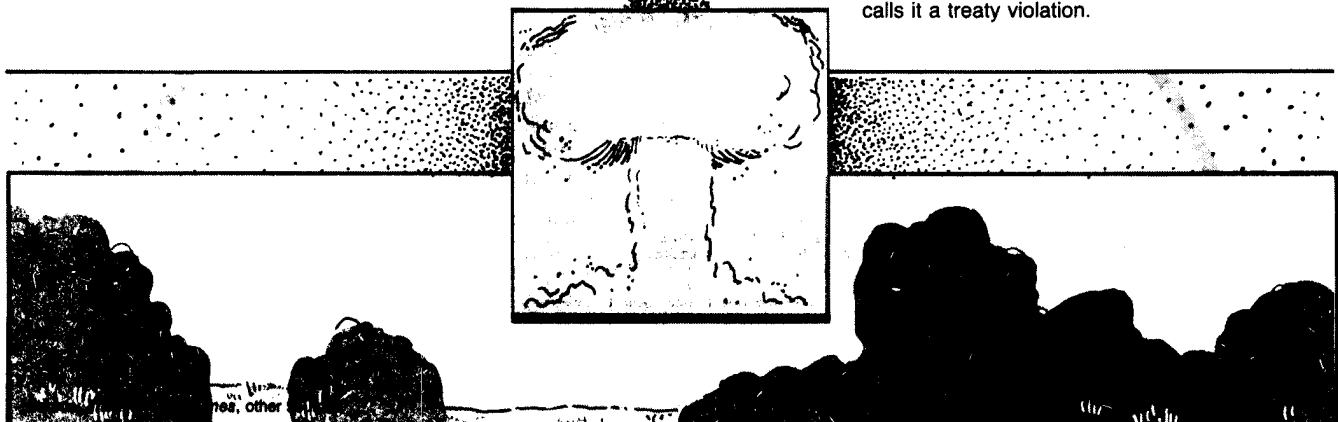
Anti-satellite weapon, launched from F-15 fighter plane, in early development.

One conventional ABM system around Moscow.

Active Soviet research into ballistic missile defense includes laser and particle-beam weapons.

A ground-launched anti-satellite missile that can attack satellites in low orbit.

A large Soviet radar in central Siberia. The U.S. calls it a treaty violation.





# NEW HOPE FOR A MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH

**Successful arms talks, experts say, are up to President Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. That's why the world is keeping a close and hopeful eye on their meeting in Geneva.**

**T**he heads of the world's two superpowers meet in Geneva, Switzerland, November 19 and 20. The summit will give U.S. President Ronald Reagan his first chance to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet Union's top leader.

The two have a lot to talk about. President Reagan wants to discuss nuclear arms control, U.S.-Soviet relations, broader regional problems, and human rights. Gorbachev has agreed to discuss only the first three items.

Uppermost in both men's minds, however, are the arms negotiations now going on in Geneva. Called the Nuclear and Space Talks, these negotiations are now in their third round.\* This issue of UPDATE will help you make sense of the talks and let you gauge the summit's chance of success.

## OPTIMISM

A successful summit, in the eyes of many observers, will be one that leads to an agreement on nuclear arms. Two U.S. arms negotiators during the 1970s, Gerard C. Smith and Paul C. Warnke, see the Reagan-Gorbachev meeting as "an opportunity for a major breakthrough" in the arms talks.

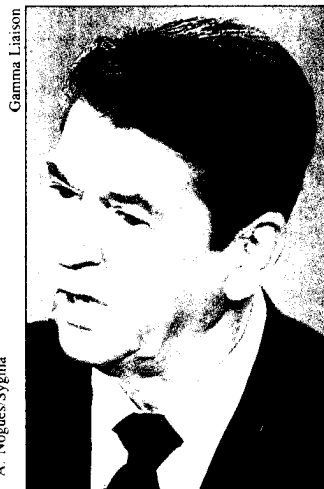
Their reasoning is simple. In nuclear matters, each nation wants something from the other. The Soviets want the U.S. to back away from plans to develop a costly space shield against nuclear weapons—an as-yet-

undisputed device nicknamed "Star Wars." The U.S. wants the Soviets to dismantle a good portion of their land-based nuclear missiles. All that's lacking for an agreement, Smith and Warnke said in a recent article, is a move toward compromise from the leaders of both sides.

Recently, each side has begun to hint that it might bend a little. The Soviets have said they might not oppose laboratory research into a "Star Wars" system. And they have dan-



**Mikhail S. Gorbachev may trade Soviet missiles for a U.S. promise not to build an anti-missile space shield.**



**President Reagan wants the freedom to explore a space defense and a cutback in U.S. and Soviet arms.**

gled an offer—a flawed offer, in U.S. eyes—to cut back their long-range land-based missiles by half. As the summit approaches, both the Americans and the Soviets seem increasingly eager to make it a success.

As for the arms talks themselves, what are the U.S. goals? The Administration has spelled out four:

- Actual reductions in weapons—not a mere ban on further production.
- Security—an ability by each nation to retaliate if a foe strikes first.
- Equality—an even balance, after reductions, between opposing nuclear

forces. Neither side should feel stronger than the other, something that the U.S. believes could lead to conflict.

■ Verification—measures built into any treaty that would make sure both sides lived up to the agreement.

These goals make two things clear. First, the Administration, like most citizens, realizes that the world has too many nuclear weapons.

## STRATEGY OF DETERRENCE

Second, the U.S. remains committed to deterrence—a defense based on the idea of remaining strong enough to dissuade an opponent from attacking. The U.S. feels it needs a nuclear force large enough to survive an attack and deliver a punishing blow to the attacker. The Soviets feel the same way. In a world full of distrust, no one can think of a better way to give each side a sense of security.

For the people who negotiate arms treaties, the theory of deterrence presents special problems. Neither side will agree to remove a single weapon without assurances that the other side is doing the same. The situation is complicated by the many types of nuclear weapons—air-, sea-, and land-launched missiles, and bombs, all capable of delivering nuclear warheads of various degrees of potency.

These are problems that the Geneva negotiators are trying to work out. They are doing so in three groups. One group is responsible for long-range weapons, a second for medium-range weapons, and a third for weapons in space.

The six-page Special Report that begins this issue reflects the pattern of the talks. It divides the complicated subject of nuclear weapons into three parts, one on each group of weapons under discussion.

Articles that follow the Special Report permit you to put the arms talks in the context of economic policy, government, and history. Finally, this issue introduces you to 10 men directly responsible for the talks, and to some of the people the talks are designed to protect—U.S. and Soviet teenagers, meeting for the first time.

\* Each round lasts about six weeks. The first round began March 12 and ended April 23. The second round began May 30 and ended July 16. At UPDATE's press time, no date had been set for ending the third round, which began September 25. A fourth round is expected to start this coming January.



# GOAL OF LONG-RANGE WEAPONS TALKS: SHRINKING THE "TRIADS"

One of three negotiations in Geneva concerns each nation's triad of strategic weapons—those launched from sea, land, and air.

Since 1981, the U.S. arsenal of nuclear warheads has grown by 14 percent, the Soviet arsenal by 22 percent. Slowing that growth is a major goal of the three arms talks in Geneva,

Switzerland.

Paring down each nation's nuclear triad—the focus of one of those negotiations—might achieve that goal. These three-pronged defenses consist

of submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs), land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs), and long-range bombers.

These strategic weapons are examined in the first two pages of this six-page Special Report. The following pages deal separately, as the negotiators in Geneva do, with medium-range weapons and space weapons.

## Submarines

**Q: Why do we need ballistic missiles on submarines?**

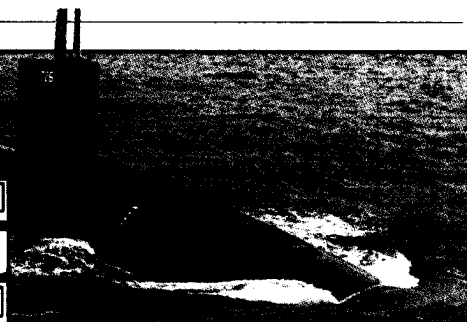
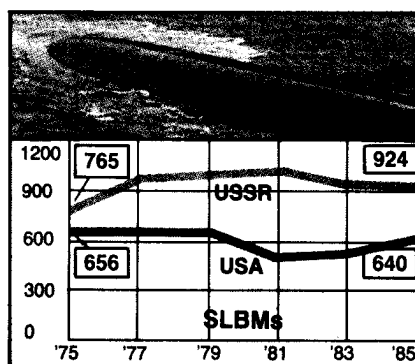
**A:** A mix of weapons offers more security. Submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) are less accurate than land-based missiles, but subs can hide in the ocean. U.S. SLBMs can be launched after the U.S. is hit, making a Soviet first strike less likely.

**Q: Who has the most SLBMs?**

**A:** The U.S. has 36 nuclear-powered submarines. They carry a total of 5,728 warheads on 640 missiles. The Soviets have 62 subs, with about 2,088 warheads on 930 missiles.

**Q: How important is the U.S. lead?**

**A:** The U.S. edge goes beyond the warhead count. Soviet subs are rela-



U.S. Navy

The U.S.S. Ohio carries 24 Trident missiles, each with a range of 4,000 miles.

tively noisy. In a war, experts say, they would be easier than U.S. subs to locate and destroy. When a new Soviet "Alpha" sub went on a test run in the Norwegian Sea in 1980, U.S. underwater listening devices near Bermuda kept track of it, from a distance

of more than 3,000 miles.

**Q: How powerful are SLBMs?**

**A:** "Just one of our Poseidon submarines carries enough warheads to destroy every large and medium-sized city in the Soviet Union," U.S. President Jimmy Carter said in 1979.

## Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles

**Q: Who has more ICBMs, the U.S. or the U.S.S.R.?**

**A:** The Soviets have more of these land-based weapons than the U.S.—an estimated 1,398 to our 1,025.

**Q: Is that gap of 373 important?**

**A:** U.S. experts feel it is. They worry that the Soviets' highly accurate, powerful missiles might destroy U.S. missiles in their underground sites.

**Q: Can ICBMs carry multiple warheads, like the SLBMs?**

**A:** Yes. The U.S. missiles carry an estimated 2,125 warheads. Soviet missiles carry around 6,420. Each of a missile's several warheads can be aimed at a different enemy target.

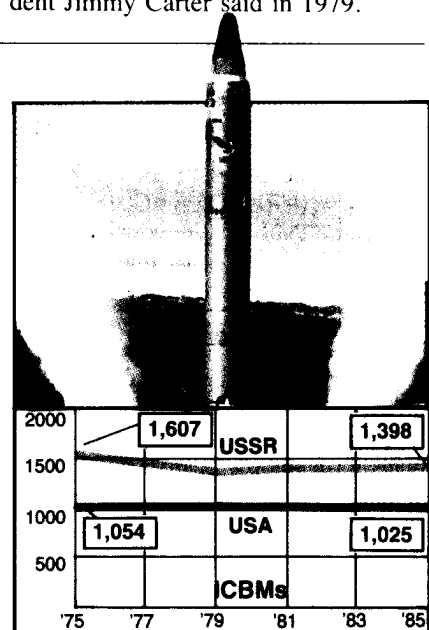
**Q: So, the Soviets are ahead?**

**A:** U.S. officials would say so. But

proposals to "superharden" U.S. missile silos—to cover them with tons of steel and concrete—might make the Soviets' numerical advantage less important. The superhardened silos might protect U.S. missiles from damage, permitting the U.S. to launch them even after a Soviet attack.

**Q: Why is the U.S. so concerned about Soviet ICBMs?**

**A:** Both sides worry that their ICBMs—even those in hardened silos—may be damaged in an attack. The Soviets rely heavily on their land-based missiles. For that reason, U.S. planners fear that, in a crisis, the Soviets might fire some missiles unnecessarily rather than risk losing all of them in a nuclear exchange.



Wide World

ICBMs, vulnerable to missile attack, must be positioned in hardened silos.

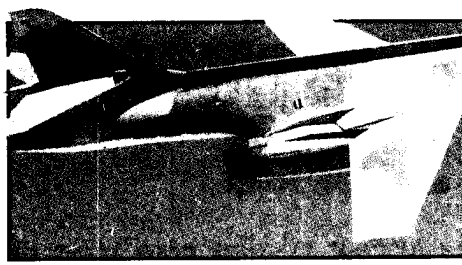
## Long-range Bombers

**Q:** Do airplanes make up our nuclear triad's third leg?

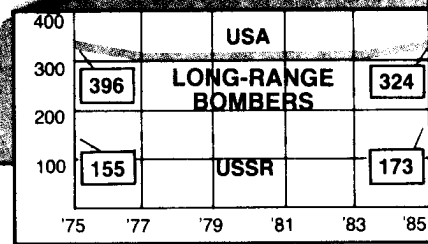
**A:** Yes. The U.S. fleet of 263 long-range B-52 bombers carries 3,072 warheads. About 98 of these bombers carry 12 cruise missiles. Beyond this, 61 smaller U.S. bombers can carry a total of 366 warheads.

**Q:** What is a cruise missile?

**A:** A cruise missile is like a small, pilotless jet plane with a bomb aboard. It can be launched from a plane, a submarine, or from land. It flies much slower than a ballistic missile, which is shot into space and then pulled by gravity to its target. But a cruise missile flies close to the ground, avoiding enemy radar. So it's considered less vulnerable to an anti-



Prime mission of the B-1 bomber is to carry air-launched cruise missiles.



missile defense system.

**Q:** What about Soviet bombers?

**A:** Of the Soviet Union's 173 bombers, 25 carry cruise missiles. Soviet planes carry a total of 792 warheads.

**Q:** With all the ICBMs and SLBMs, why do we need manned bombers?

**A:** Bombers have two advantages: their mobility makes them less vulner-

able to surprise attack, and they can be called back. Unlike ICBM's, bombers are not likely to be either hit on the ground or fired in haste to avoid attack. Moreover, bombers can carry cruise missiles. "No defense system against cruise missiles exists," says Hans Bethe, a physicist who helped develop the atomic bomb.

## Proposals on Limiting Strategic Arms

**Q:** Have the superpowers ever limited their nuclear triads?

**A:** In 1972, the two superpowers completed Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I). SALT I accords limited each side at first to two (and later to one) anti-ballistic missile (ABM) sites. ABMs are designed to stop enemy missiles. SALT I also put a freeze on the number of land- and sea-based missiles for a five-year period.

**Q:** What has happened since then?

**A:** In 1979, the two sides signed SALT II, a treaty that limited each to 2,250 strategic (long-range) weapons by 1981. Though the U.S. Senate refused to ratify SALT II, in general both sides have followed its terms.

**Q:** What is being proposed now?

**A:** Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said he would agree to a 50 percent cut in warheads and strategic weapons if the U.S. rejects its "Star Wars" anti-missile defense. (See page 7.)

**Q:** What is the U.S. reaction?

**A:** Mixed. On the one hand, the U.S. is pleased with the offer to cut numbers of warheads, missiles, and bombers. On the other hand, the U.S. is unhappy that the plan would bar planned new weapons systems. Among these are the U.S. MX and Midgetman missiles, the Trident D-5 SLBM, and the "stealth" bomber. A

ban on these systems, the U.S. says, would leave the Soviets ahead. Finally, the U.S. says, the plan would leave untouched all the medium-range missiles that the Soviets have aimed at U.S. allies in Western Europe.

**Q:** Is the Soviet proposal designed to leave the U.S. at a disadvantage?

**A:** Experts disagree. The Soviet proposal would ban new arms after a certain date. Also, it would limit cuts in arms capable of "reaching the other side's territory." Since Soviet SS-20 missiles aimed at U.S. allies in Europe cannot reach the U.S., they would be excluded from the cuts.

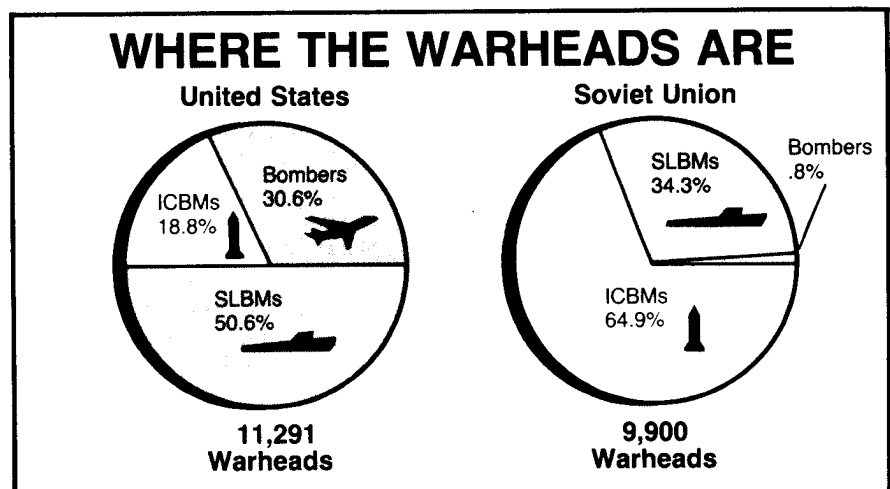
**Q:** What position on strategic weapons has the U.S. taken in Geneva?

**A:** The U.S. wants to limit warheads by returning to "old-fashioned," single-warhead missiles. It seeks a cut in Soviet ICBMs and would set limits on all cruise missiles except those in submarines. It opposes a ban on new weapons and insists that "Star Wars" research continue.

**Q:** What are the chances of a breakthrough in the arms talks?

**A:** Experts say there should be no wishful thinking about immediate arms cuts. A due date on any arms cuts appears to be five to eight years after an agreement is reached. Even then, a 50 percent arms cut would leave thousands of nuclear weapons in each side's hands.

—Peter M. Jones



Phil Scheuer



# MEDIUM-RANGE MISSILE TALKS FACE SNAGS

The talks on intermediate-range nuclear missiles pose some of Geneva's trickiest questions. Both sides are at odds even about what missiles to count. Here's what the dispute is all about.

## Q: What is an intermediate nuclear force (INF)?

A: An INF is a group of medium-range nuclear missiles that can hit targets as far as 3,300 miles from their launch sites. The West's INF is set up in European nations that belong to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The goal of the West's INF is to protect Western Europe from attack by the Soviet Union or its East European allies. Missiles in the Soviet INF are all set up on Soviet soil.

## Q: What type of weapons does the Soviet INF consist of?

A: In 1977, the Soviet Union began replacing their older SS-4 missiles with SS-20s. An SS-20 carries three nuclear warheads, each able to hit a separate target. These highly accurate, mobile missiles have a range of 2,500 to 3,300 miles. About 270 of the Soviets' 441 SS-20s are aimed at Europe. Others are aimed at the People's Rep. of China and other sites in Asia, but could be moved to face Europe. The Soviets also have about 3,300 airplanes in their INF. All are equipped with nuclear bombs.

## U.S.-NATO FORCES

### Q: What type of INF weapons does the U.S. have in Europe?

A: The U.S.'s answer to the SS-20s are cruise missiles and Pershing IIs. The cruise is a pilotless aircraft with one nuclear warhead and a range of 1,500 miles. It has pinpoint accuracy and flies so low that radars often can't detect it. In 1983, the U.S. began installing cruise missiles in Europe. So far, 80 cruises have been set up in Britain, Belgium, and Italy. Eventually, the U.S.-NATO plan calls for the deployment of 464 cruises in five NATO countries, including West Germany and the Netherlands.

The plan also calls for setting up 108 Pershing II missiles in West Ger-

many. Each Pershing can carry a single nuclear warhead 1,000 miles. So far, 54 Pershing IIs are in place. Also, about 1,600 U.S. bombers are stationed in Europe, several hundred of them in West Germany.

### Q: Have the superpowers held talks on medium-range weapons before?

A: Yes. The U.S. and the Soviets began INF talks in 1981 in Geneva. At that time, the U.S. had not begun to set up its INF in NATO countries. The U.S. said it would not deploy its new missiles if the Soviets dismantled their SS-20s. The Soviets refused.

Both sides also later rejected a compromise that the top Soviet and U.S. negotiators reached during the summer of 1982. Their agreement, made during a walk after lunch, was dubbed the "walk in the woods."

By November, 1983, the superpowers still disagreed. So, as planned, the U.S. began deploying its cruise and Pershing II missiles. Furious, the Soviets ended the talks.

## GOALS IN GENEVA

### Q: What are U.S. aims in the current round of INF talks in Geneva?


A: The U.S. wants to eliminate all INF missiles in Western Europe and the Soviet Union. As a first step, we want both sides to agree to limit their land-based INF warheads to less than 572—the exact number that the U.S. plans to install in Western Europe. Currently, the U.S. has less than 200 such warheads in place. The Soviets have about 1,400.

### Q: What do the Soviets want?

A: The Soviets want the U.S. to cut its total nuclear force in half. They include both long-range and medium-range (INF) missiles, because all these weapons can hit the Soviet Union. In return, the Soviets would cut only their long-range forces. They do not include their SS-20s, because they say

## Where Intermediate Range Missiles Are

Ground-launched Cruise Missiles

  
Ground-launched  
Cruise Missiles  
(1 Warhead each)  
Range: 1,500 miles  
Deployment:  
Aug. 85 ..... 128

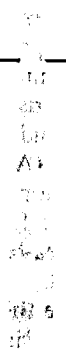
In: Britain, Belgium, Italy.



Pershing II  
Missiles  
(1 Warhead each)  
Range: 1,000 miles  
Deployment:  
Aug. 85 ..... 90

In: West Germany

SS-20 Missiles

  
SS20 Missiles  
(3 warheads each)  
Range: 2,500 miles  
Deployment:  
Aug. 85 ..... 441

Throughout the Soviet Union

Missile deployment is behind schedule. The actual number of missiles in place is lower than planned figures, shown here.

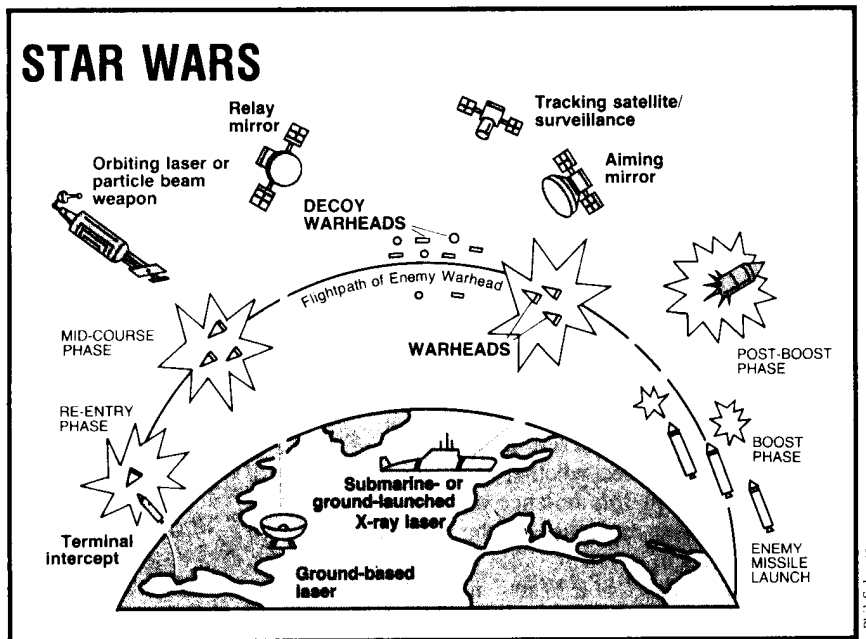
the SS-20s can't hit the U.S.

The Soviets want separate talks with France and Great Britain on SS-20 levels, because these countries keep small nuclear forces of their own. (See page 2.) A key stumbling block in both past and present INF talks has been whether to count French and British forces. The Soviets want to count them. The U.S. does not, explaining that the forces are too small to deter an attack on W. Europe.

—Maura Christopher

Phil Scheuer

Source: The New York Times



X-ray lasers triggered by nuclear explosion would be launched into position. Orbiting non-nuclear weapons, such as particle beams, would be aimed by tracking satellites. Orbiting relay mirrors would guide ground-based lasers over horizon.

## SPACE ARMS TALKS FOCUS ON "STAR WARS"

**Negotiators on space weapons grapple with a U.S. plan for a shield against attack. The U.S. feels the shield would make the world safer. The Soviets fear it could spur a costly arms race.**

### **Q: What is the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI)?**

**A:** SDI is a high-priority U.S. research program. Nicknamed "Star Wars," it is designed to determine whether the U.S. can build a defensive system to block an attack by intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs). If approved, the long-range goal is a defensive "shield" of space-based satellites and weapons.

### **Q: How would the shield work?**

**A:** It would destroy enemy warheads before they reached their targets. Proposed weapons include: different kinds of X-rays and lasers; non-nuclear projectiles hurled through space at great speed; particle beam weapons; and other devices. Some might be placed in orbit. Others could be launched from the ground or from submarines after satellites detected an attack. The system would rely on

highly advanced computers to detect enemy missiles and to aim the defensive weapons at targets moving vast distances at incredibly high speeds.

### **Q: Whose idea was SDI?**

**A:** Since the 1960s, "traditional" defenses against anti-ballistic missiles have used nuclear-tipped interceptor missiles. Most experts judge these to be ineffective, however. In March, 1983, President Reagan proposed that more advanced research could make nuclear weapons "obsolete." He gave the SDI program top priority. One reason for the push, U.S. officials say, is the Soviet Union's extensive space-defense research program.

### **Q: How much will SDI cost?**

**A:** President Reagan has proposed spending \$33 billion on SDI over six years. Spending would probably rise much higher later, especially if the U.S. decides to go forward with the

program. Some say the cost could easily reach \$1 trillion.

### **Q: Has progress been made?**

**A:** The program is still in early development, mostly focused on basic research. Some basic lasers have been tested and have hit targets in space. And an anti-satellite weapon (ASAT), related to missile defense, has completed a successful test.

### **Q: How long before SDI is ready?**

**A:** "Star Wars" technology is so advanced that experts won't know before the late 1980s whether a defensive shield could really work. Even optimists expect deployment of defenses to begin no earlier than the year 2000. U.S. officials say any useful defense must meet three crucial tests: It must (1) be able to survive direct attack; (2) be cheaper to build than offensive weapons; (3) make peace between the superpowers more secure.

### **Q: What do SDI's backers claim?**

**A:** Backers argue that any such defense needn't be perfect to reduce the chance of war. They say it would encourage Moscow to join the U.S. in an era where deterrence rests no longer on the threat of mutual assured destruction (MAD). Space defenses, they say, would enable the superpowers to shrink their offensive arsenals.

### **Q: What do SDI's critics claim?**

**A:** Critics say "Star Wars" will spur an arms race in space. They say the Soviets will increase their offensive nuclear forces to overwhelm any defense. In addition, they say SDI testing may violate the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty that limits defensive systems. Critics further claim that a truly effective "shield" can't be built.

### **Q: What impact has "Star Wars" had on Soviet-American arms talks?**

**A:** Many credit SDI with forcing the Soviets back to negotiations more than a year after they broke off talks on strategic arms. But SDI critics fear that, once testing begins, arms control talks could break down completely.

### **Q: What are each side's positions?**

**A:** The U.S. insists on pursuing SDI research and testing. President Reagan says he won't stop the program in exchange for Soviet arms cuts. The Soviets want to ban all research, testing, and deployment of space weapons, including "Star Wars" and ASATs. But Soviet leaders say they might permit SDI research—in laboratories.

—David Goddy



# "STAR WARS" DEBATE:

**Edward L. Rowny, Arms Control Adviser to the President, writes that U.S. research into space-based defenses could reduce the risk of war—a possibility, he says, the Soviets refuse to see.**

**O**n the Hiroshima memorial is inscribed: "Rest in peace, for the mistake shall not be repeated." Hiroshima offers both a legacy and a challenge. The legacy is a painful memory of the enormous human suffering wrought in World War II and by the way that war came to a close. The challenge is to ensure that, by maintaining our military strength, weapons of mass and indiscriminate destruction will never be used again. The Reagan Administration is committed to making sure that nuclear war is prevented and therefore never fought.

The first two rounds of the arms talks in Geneva suggested that a long period of hard bargaining between the U.S. and the Soviet Union may well lie ahead. In part, this is because of the sophistication of the technology involved in national defense. The prospect of lengthy talks can also be blamed on the fact that the relationship between offensive and defensive systems in deterring nuclear war is just beginning to be explored.

The unforthcoming attitude the Soviets have taken must also be noted. The objectives, values, and ideology of the Soviet leadership propel them in a much different direction than the West. Their negotiating stance would permit nuclear arsenals to grow; our position would reduce them.

## DETERRING WAR

As we pursue a peaceful dialogue with the U.S.S.R., the prevention of war through deterrence continues to be the centerpiece of U.S. and NATO security policy. Our nuclear deterrent has maintained peace now for 40 years: it has prevented any direct clash between the superpowers. Because the Soviets fear the threat of nuclear retaliation, they have refrained from aggressive moves against the West.

The President's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is designed to examine

new technologies to see whether we can reduce the risk of war even more. SDI's objective is to see whether we can move away from *sole* reliance on the threat of nuclear retaliation as the basis for deterrence.

Dubbing this effort "Star Wars" in the press is misleading, because SDI is purely a research program. The main focus is on non-nuclear technologies. Today, the research is at the basic laboratory stage. No decision about actual system development or deployment will be made for years.

## A DEFENSIVE SHIELD

It is important to grasp the idea that SDI is examining the feasibility of a defensive shield to protect us and our allies. In the same way, our retaliatory triad of heavy bombers, land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, and submarine-launched ballistic missiles constitutes a sword. With better shields, we could reduce the need to use the sword in retaliation.

It is also important to realize that the main purpose of both the sword and any future shield is to deter war. They would be used only if the U.S. or its allies were under attack. The shield would be used to intercept and destroy incoming missiles before they could reach their targets. Similarly, the sword—whose principal purpose is to deter an attack—would be unsheathed only after we and our allies fell victim to an attack. Otherwise, the sword would be kept in its sheath, ready for use only as a deterrent.

In the arms talks, we are trying to convince the Soviets that it is in their interest, in our interest, and in the interest of the entire world to reduce nuclear arsenals drastically. This does not mean, even if we can eventually agree to eliminate offensive nuclear weapons totally, that strategic defenses will no longer be needed. Some limited defenses could guard against



**A retired general, Edward Rowny was chief U.S. negotiator at the strategic arms reduction talks from 1981 to 1984.**

secretly maintained weapons and smaller third-party attacks.

## SOVIET PROPOSALS

The Soviets have not yet made concrete, verifiable proposals to reduce nuclear arms. Indeed, they have said the U.S. would have to end its SDI program before they would bargain seriously for reductions in offensive nuclear forces. This tactic should be seen for what it is: an effort to block U.S. research in an area where the U.S.S.R. has already done extensive work. In addition, the U.S.S.R. has around Moscow the world's only working anti-ballistic missile system.

I began by saying that Hiroshima offers us a legacy and a challenge. The Reagan Administration has risen to that challenge. It is leaving no stone unturned in its search for a stable and lasting peace. A good way to start is to reduce the number and destructive power of offensive nuclear arms. It remains only for the Soviets to join us in a sincere effort to strengthen the security of all concerned.

# ONE FOR, ONE AGAINST

**Robert S. McNamara, former Secretary of Defense, writes that President Reagan's "Star Wars" plan may speed, not slow, the arms race. Only arms cuts can make the world safer, he argues.**

**T**hroughout history, war has been the last-resort way to settle disputes between tribes and nations. But the atomic bomb that destroyed Hiroshima changed that completely. Nuclear weapons mean that war between the superpowers can now escalate to Armageddon. We must recognize that fact and base our security programs and foreign policies upon it.

Unfortunately, we continue to behave as if we could survive or even "prevail" in a nuclear war. Our Soviet adversaries do likewise.

The superpowers now have over 50,000 nuclear warheads in their arsenals, each one with greater power than the Hiroshima bomb. Each nation is afraid of a first strike by the other. But if the Soviets launched their intercontinental weapons against ours, our nuclear submarines and our bomber force would retaliate immediately. A Soviet first strike would be suicidal, and the Soviets know that. A U.S. first strike would be just as suicidal.

Nuclear warheads are not weapons in any conventional sense. They are completely useless except to deter their use by one's opponent.

## IMPOSSIBLE TO BUILD

President Reagan's proposal—the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), known as Star Wars—is to develop an impenetrable defense against nuclear missiles, and thus permit both sides to junk all offensive nuclear warheads. This has had much public appeal. Unfortunately, there is practically unanimous agreement among experts that a "leakproof" shield would be impossible to achieve. (I will call this proposal Star Wars I to distinguish it from less-perfect systems.) Defense strategies have always been based on taking losses smaller than the attacker's and wearing him down. But defense against a massive nuclear attack would have to be perfect to success-

fully defend our population. If a small number of missiles got through, the result would be catastrophic.

As it has become clear that a "leak-proof" defense (Star Wars I) is impractical, backers of SDI have shifted to supporting partial defenses. (I will call these Star Wars II.) They would either defend "hard-point targets" (for example, missile silos) or provide partial defense of populations. But instead of permitting the substitution of defensive systems for offensive systems, which was the objective of Star Wars I, Star Wars II defenses would be deployed with offensive weapons.

## SOVIET FEARS

Therein lies the danger. The Soviets might well conclude—as it appears they have—that there can be no reason for U.S. deployment of "leaky" defenses unless we seek first-strike capability. Such partial defenses could not protect us against a Soviet first strike but might significantly reduce damage from Soviet retaliation.

What should we do? Both sides must feel secure if we are to stop the arms race. This requires that we eliminate each side's fear that the other possesses, or seeks, a first-strike capability. It is in the interest of both sides to reduce sharply their nuclear forces.

Neither side will permit the other to achieve superiority. Therefore, strategic arms negotiations should aim to reduce the nuclear arsenals on both sides to the lowest levels adequate to retaliate in case of a surprise attack. We should aim for invulnerable but severely limited forces.

Ultimately it should be possible to reduce the number of strategic warheads on each side to about 1,000—a total of 2,000, compared with the 50,000 in the combined arsenals now. The negotiations underway in Geneva should try for a 50-percent cut in strategic forces from present levels.



© C. Johnson/Gamma Liaison

**After heading the U.S. Dept. of Defense from 1961 to 1968, Robert McNamara led the World Bank until 1981.**

A word about the existing Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which limits each side to one defensive system, and which restricts testing and development of new systems. If we go ahead with the SDI program as rapidly as planned, we will almost certainly be violating the treaty before the end of the decade. The Soviets will reply by expanding their offensive arsenal, and any hope of negotiating reductions will evaporate. We must make clear at Geneva that our SDI research programs will be carried out in strict conformity with the ABM Treaty.

## WINDOW OF OPPORTUNITY

We have a window of opportunity for arms control talks before an unconstrained Star Wars program leads to a dramatic escalation of the arms race. Our negotiators should use that opportunity to strengthen the ABM Treaty and to negotiate deep cuts in strategic offensive forces, down to the minimum level needed to deter Soviet attack. The fate of the world may hang in the balance.

NOVEMBER 15, 1985 ■ 9

# MONEY WORRIES THAT SHAPE THE TALKS

**There's more at stake in Geneva than military security. The economic well-being of both superpowers is at stake, too. Neither the Americans nor the Soviets can afford to forget it.**

**T**raditionally, summit meetings between the leaders of the world's two superpowers are times to talk about issues of war and peace. But when Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan meet at Geneva on November 19 and 20, more will be at stake than world politics. Their success or failure at reaching an agreement could affect the way people in the Soviet Union and the U.S. live for years to come. Arms control, or lack of it, has a direct effect on the amount of a society's income that is devoted to defense.

Defense is a very expensive business. This year, the bill for the U.S. armed forces—including conventional and nuclear arms—will come to \$285 billion. That's almost 30 percent of all the money the government will spend.

## DEFENSE AND THE GNP

By another measure—the percentage of the U.S. gross national product (GNP)—military expenditures are also huge. They are expected to sop up more than 6 percent of this year's GNP, the dollar value of the nation's output of goods and services. Experts calculate that the Soviet Union will spend an even higher proportion of its country's GNP on defense. Some estimates put that figure as high as 12 percent.

Why are the two superpowers spending so much on their armed forces? At first glance, it doesn't seem to make sense. The U.S. is a nation at peace. The Soviets are at war—in Afghanistan, a neighbor whose Communist government they hope to prop up. But that war, though costly, is surely not large enough to devour 12 percent of the Soviet GNP.

A closer look suggests that the two superpowers spend as much as they do on defense because each fears the other. Both sides base their defenses on a

strategy of *deterrence*, whose goal is to dissuade an opponent from attacking. As a strategy to prevent nuclear war, deterrence seems to have worked. The world has seen no major East-West conflict for 40 years.

But deterrence is expensive. What it boils down to, in terms of nuclear and conventional (non-nuclear) weaponry, is an arms race. U.S. military experts look at the U.S.S.R. and ask: Are they getting ahead? Could they beat us in a war? Soviet experts ask the same question about the U.S. The two sides race to keep up with each other by spending billions of dollars on new and ever more destructive weapons. Most of the weapons are conventional. But the ones people fear most are nuclear.

## NUCLEAR COSTS

The U.S. currently spends about 10 percent of its defense budget on nuclear weapons. According to the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Soviet Union spends a far higher proportion of its military budget, close to 30 percent, on its nuclear arsenal.

In theory, then, arms control agreements should put a brake on the arms race and hold down defense costs. David Lehman, an economist in New York, holds to this idea. He says that past arms agreements slowed the growth of the U.S. defense budget by limiting the number of weapons each side was allowed to build.

As an example of such savings, he cites the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which grew out of the first Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I). The ABM Treaty limited each side first to two protective missile shields, then to one, halting this particular part of the arms race almost before it had started. The savings to each side, in terms of resources, were enormous.



**Part of a "Star Wars" space shield points**  
**The costs of such a system may have forced**

The treaty that emerged from the second round of SALT talks limited the size of each side's stockpile of long-range, or strategic, nuclear weapons. Though the U.S. Senate refused to ratify the treaty, both sides have generally complied with it.

Still, David Lehman thinks that the Senate missed a chance to save money when it said no to the treaty. "Taxpayers lost money in 1979 when the Senate refused to ratify SALT II," Lehman told UPDATE.

## PASSING UP THE MX

He believes that approval of the treaty might have convinced U.S. leaders that there was no need to buy a new generation of nuclear weapons. Specifically, Lehman cites the huge MX missile now scheduled to become the main U.S. land-based ICBM at an initial cost of \$100 million a missile. Approval of the treaty might also have spared the U.S. the expense of buying additional cruise missiles, Lehman believes. These MX and cruise missiles are expected to cost more than \$30 billion to develop and build.

Such figures always prompt people to wonder what the U.S. might buy if it didn't spend so much on defense. Of course, with lower defense costs, the U.S. might see no need to hold





Department of Defense

laser beams from Earth at an enemy warhead. the Soviets back to the bargaining table.

onto any surplus money. Instead, it might cut taxes, leaving taxpayers with more money to spend. On the other hand, if it didn't lower taxes, some people think, the U.S. government be able to spend more to raise living standards for poorer citizens.

One group that thinks this way is the Social Graphics Company (SGC), a private research firm. SGC estimates that the U.S. will spend \$200 billion on nuclear arms between now and 1990. SGC researchers explored what the U.S. could accomplish if half that money were diverted from defense to relieving the nation's housing shortage. The researchers' conclusion: With \$100 billion, the U.S. could help build new or improved housing for 25 million Americans.

### SOVIET TRADE-OFFS

Mikhail Gorbachev suggests that the Soviet Union faces the same sort of trade-off between military and social spending. "We would prefer to use every ruble that today goes for defense to meet civilian, peaceful needs," the Soviet leader said during a recent interview with U.S. journalists. "As I understand," he added, "you in the U.S. could also make better use of the money now consumed by arms production."

Paul Nitze, a veteran of many U.S.-Soviet arms negotiations, thinks the Soviets are in trouble. He believes that they are desperate to contain their massive defense budget.

Nitze cites problems inside the Soviet Union that leaders need money to solve. The Soviet standard of living is low, and the Soviet citizen's average lifespan has actually dropped. Most important, perhaps, is the inability of the Soviet Union to feed itself. "Their internal problems have pushed the Soviets to the bargaining table at Geneva," Nitze says.

According to Nitze and other experts, concern about money is behind the Soviet Union's continual attacks on the U.S. plan to build a space shield against nuclear attack. Gorbachev has insisted that U.S. plans to research and possibly develop a "Star Wars" system are the major stumbling block to an arms agreement.

### SOVIET FEARS

Why don't the Soviets simply develop their own space-based defense? Robert Bowman, head of the Institute for Space and Security, a Washington research group, says that the Soviets don't have the computers and lasers needed to build such a defense. "They know we're in the lead," Bowman says. "They'd rather stop the race before it begins."

Thirteen years ago, that sort of thinking led to the ABM Treaty. Now, to avoid the punishing costs of building their own "Star Wars" defense system, the Soviets appear ready to bargain once more. They have already proposed cutting their long-range nuclear arsenal by 50 percent. In exchange, they want more extensive U.S. cuts and a promise not to deploy a "Star Wars" defense.

But President Reagan has said he won't use his plan for a space shield as a bargaining chip. Still, his advisers have hinted that the U.S. might be willing to limit its space-based missile defense program to research.

The estimated cost of that program has presented the President with a good deal of opposition at home. The President has asked for \$33 billion over the next six years for "Star Wars" research. This is about what is being spent to build two of the nation's most complicated weapons, the MX missile and the B-1 bomber, a

replacement for the aging B-52.

The Council on Economic Priorities, a private research group in New York, has put the cost of actually building a space shield from \$400 billion to \$800 billion. The entire U.S. defense budget for 1984 was less than one third that figure.

Among the space shield's backers, on the other hand, are several economists who argue that money spent on it will give the U.S. economy a boost. Dr. Herbert Fusfeld of New York University is one expert who holds this view. He says that by spending money on technical research, the Defense Department helps U.S. industry. "Research leads to the technical know-how which will put U.S. companies in a strong, competitive position," Fusfeld says.

Economists such as Fusfeld call this technical know-how a "spin-off" of the "Star Wars" program. They explain that the large U.S. electronics and aircraft industries were spin-offs of earlier military projects.

### PRESSURE FROM CONGRESS

Final approval for spending on the space shield will have to come from the U.S. Congress. Last year, Congress cut the program's budget by \$300 million and is expected to trim it again—this time by \$1 billion. The reason: U.S. lawmakers are eager to reduce the U.S. government's need to borrow money. To do that, they want to cut the federal budget, of which defense outlays are a big part. Excluding Social Security payments, the U.S. government spends approximately 55 percent of its budget on defense.

The U.S. budget has soared nearly 700 percent in 20 years, from \$158 billion in fiscal year 1967 to an estimated \$974 billion during the current fiscal year, 1986. Tax revenues have not grown at the same rate, so the government has had to borrow to make ends meet. Spending on "Star Wars" could force the U.S. to borrow even more—a frightening prospect to businesses and consumers who must compete for funds.

Clearly, there's more at stake in Geneva than military security. The economic security of the U.S. and the Soviet Union is at stake, too. And neither President Reagan nor Mikhail Gorbachev is likely to forget it.

—Clare McHugh

NOVEMBER 15, 1985 ■ 11

# WHAT GOES ON AT DISARMAMENT TALKS

**While each side's negotiators do the talking, the real decisions are made by the top leaders back home. The key to an arms control agreement, experts say, is an order from the top.**



At Geneva, U.S. and Soviet negotiators meet in formal meetings, called "plenary sessions," about once a week. But informal meetings are usually more valuable.

**T**he American negotiator, Paul Nitze, and his Soviet counterpart, Yuli Kvitsinsky, sat on a log in the rain on a mountain near Geneva. They had come there, alone, to try to break through the deadlock in the 1982 talks on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe. It was the fruit of weeks of secret conversations at the informal meetings—parties, receptions, meals, strolls—where the negotiators traded hints and probed positions.

The two men settled on a compromise that allowed each side to claim it had gotten a good deal. The Soviet Union would dismantle two thirds of the SS-20 missiles aimed at Western Europe. It would add no more SS-20s to those aimed at Asia, and it would give up plans for cruise missiles. In exchange, the U.S. would end plans to set up Pershing II missiles in NATO nations, but it would retain an edge in Tomahawk cruise missiles.

Later dubbed the "Walk in the

Woods," the secret Nitze-Kvitsinsky effort was a dramatic, creative feat of diplomacy. The problem was, it was too creative. The negotiators had gone far beyond their official instructions. Their governments dropped the deal.

The failure of the "Walk in the Woods" illustrates a key lesson about arms control talks. The negotiators aren't allowed to do much bargaining. Instead, say experts, the negotiator is basically a mouthpiece for his government. Major proposals come from the bosses back home. "This isn't like buying a horse or settling a labor dispute," says Gerard Smith, who negotiated the 1972 SALT I Treaty. "It's essential that negotiators are kept on a very tight rein. You're dealing with the security of your country, and the decisions have to be made by the leaders at the highest levels."

Even so, just following orders is no a simple task. Max Kampelman, the chief U.S. negotiator in Geneva,

heads a delegation of over 90 people. They include diplomats, translators, secretaries, and security aides. In turn, Kampelman's team is in constant communication with another team of officials in Washington. Called "backstoppers," they answer the Geneva team's requests for new information and clarify new instructions.

At formal meetings, held only about once a week, the two sides usually take turns reading official statements. Much more time is spent in less formal meetings. There, the negotiators try to find out where the other side will compromise, without revealing their own instructions.

## CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

One obstacle in arms talks, some say, is cultural differences. The Soviets are said to be aggressive bargainers who start off with a tough position and wait for the U.S. to make concessions. On the other hand, Americans are said to be more flexible and ready to compromise. Another factor is that U.S. negotiators are pressured by domestic politics and public opinion.

"It's unfair to suggest that American negotiators are wishy-washy," says Dimitri Simes, a senior fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "Arms control agreements don't reflect the balance of intellectual arguments. They reflect the balance of military forces," he says. "It's not that Americans haven't played their cards well. It's that they've often had weak cards." Simes feels that President Reagan's military buildup, plus his plan for a "Star Wars" defense, has given U.S. negotiators stronger cards.

Others, however, contend that the President's hard-line approach to arms agreements hasn't worked. "The key to successful negotiations with the Russians is to have a negotiable position that's in the interests of both parties," says Smith. "And we haven't had one since 1979."

While negotiating strategies are important, experts say, the bottom line is political leadership. "There's no special art to arms control talks," says Prof. Stephen Cohen of Princeton University. "If Reagan and Gorbachev tell their negotiators not to come home until they've got a good agreement, they'll work one out."

—David Goddy



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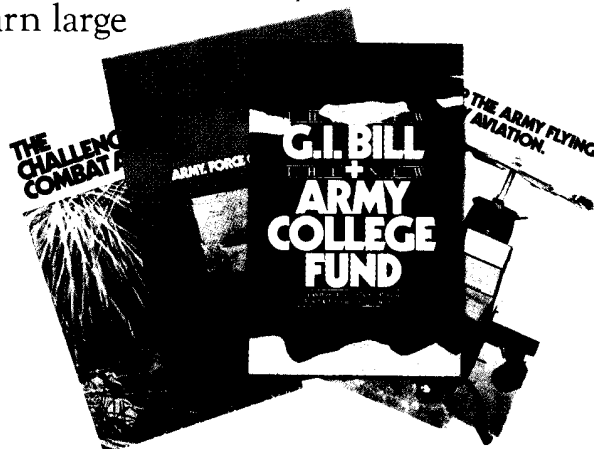
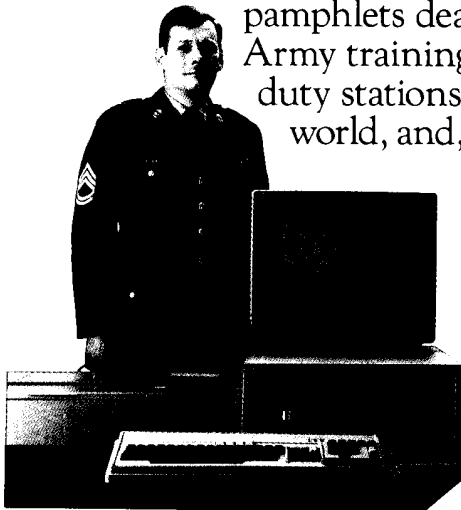


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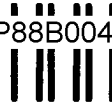


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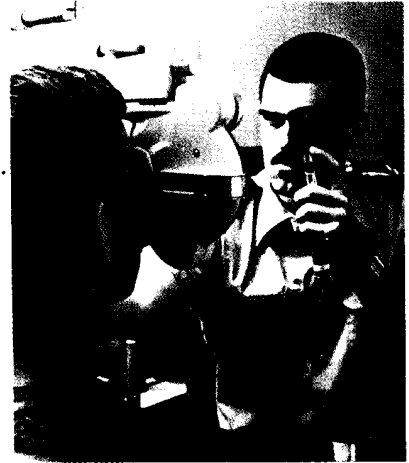
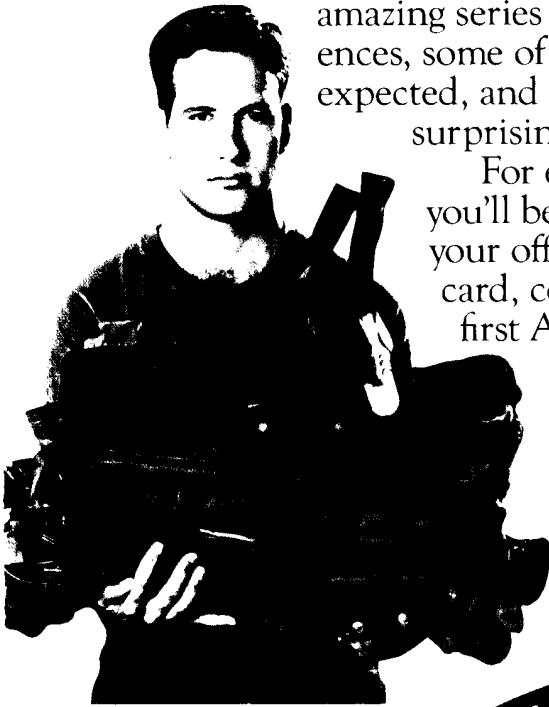
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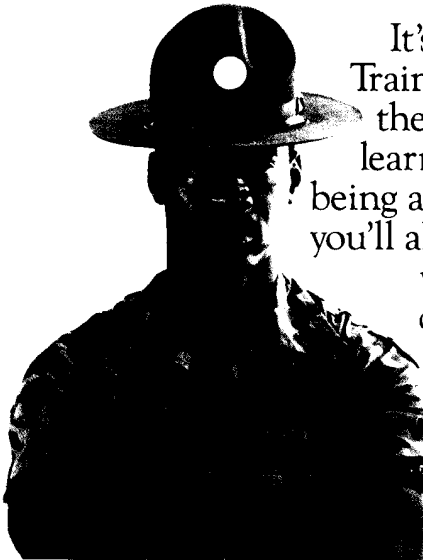
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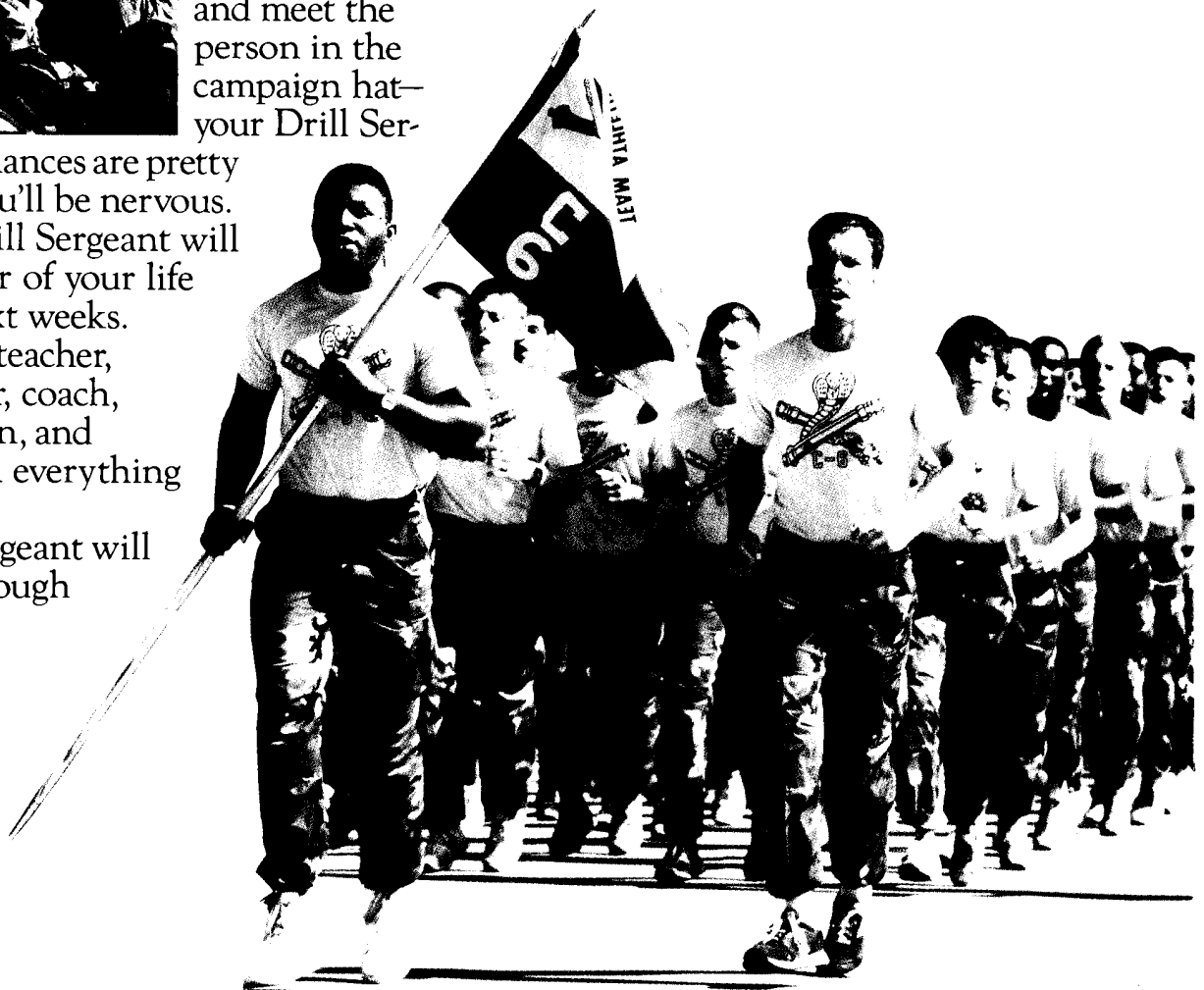
8 weeks of running, training, shooting, marching, lectures, bivouac, maneuvers, patrols, and more running.

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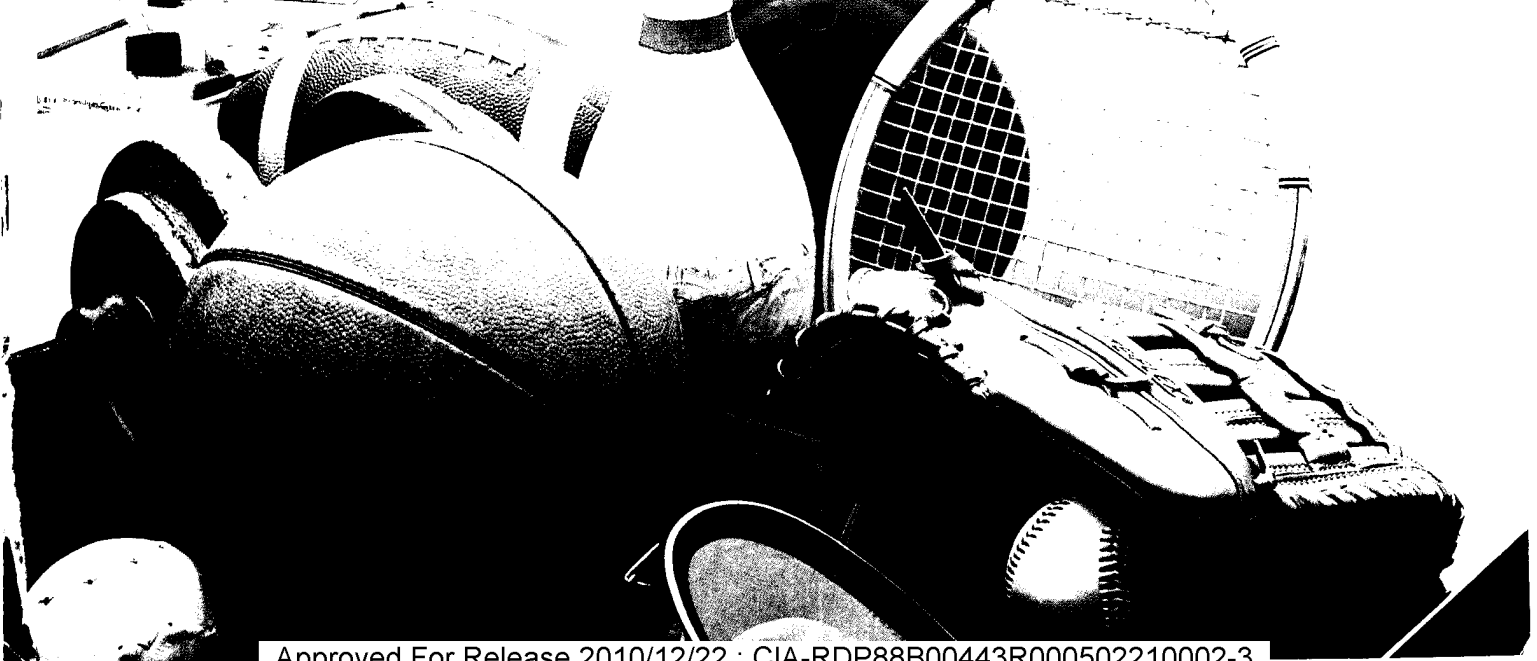
and courses to take; and many posts have clubs for those who love (or want to learn) flying, sky-diving, skiing, scuba and other action sports.

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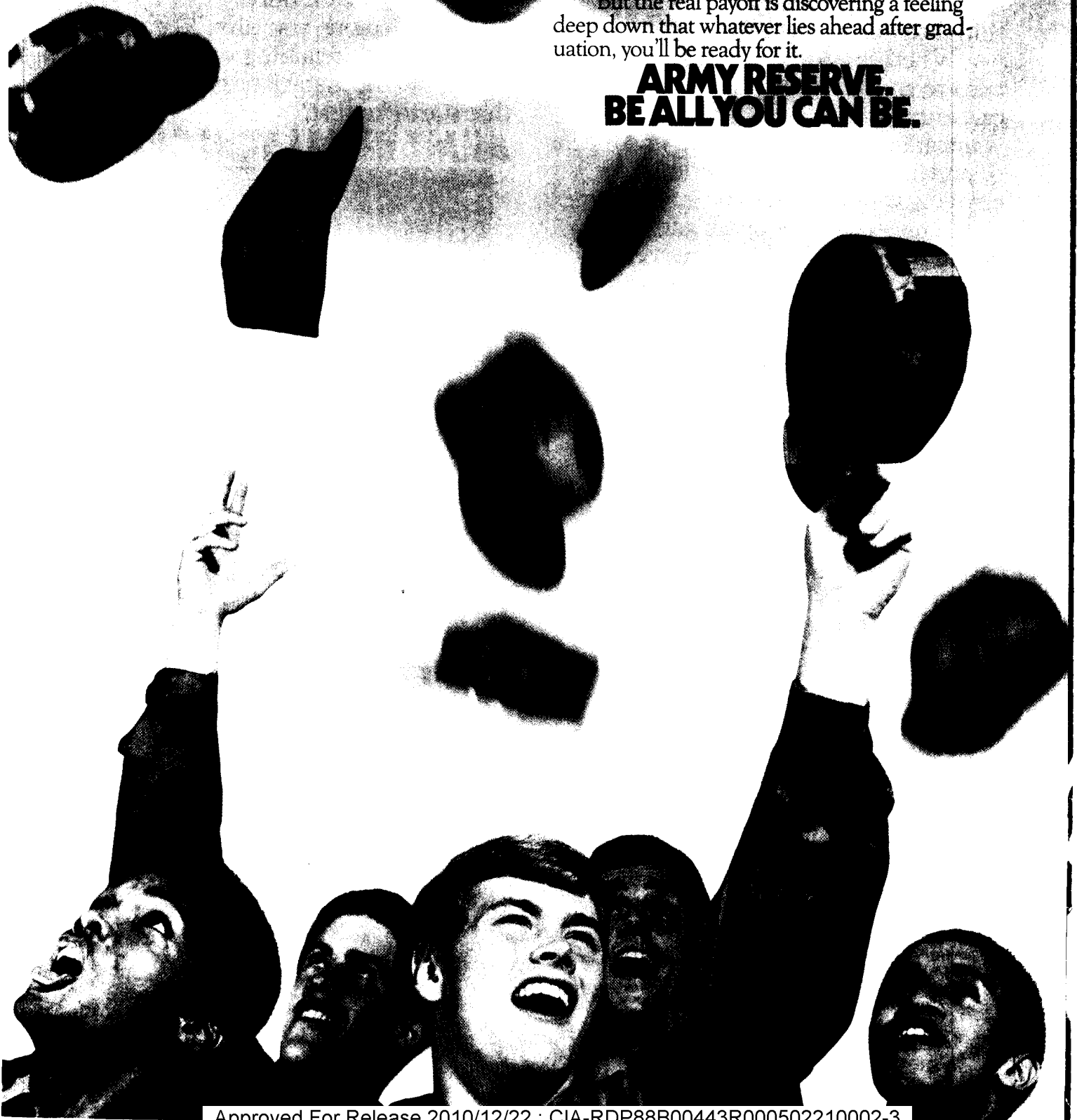
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# TEN WHO SEEK NUCLEAR SECURITY AT GENEVA

**A**ll eyes and ears are turned toward Geneva for the historic meeting between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet leader. Their November 19-20 summit could produce a breakthrough on nuclear arms control—an opening that could lead to real cuts in each nation's deadly stockpile of nuclear weapons.

The success of the talks depends on the skill, patience, and hard work of many people. Among them are the eight officials profiled here alongside the superpowers' top two leaders. These include

the U.S. Secretary of State, the Soviet Foreign Minister, and the six negotiators who have been meeting at bargaining tables in Geneva.

Many other Soviet and U.S. experts are working hard behind the scenes. For the U.S., these include Robert McFarlane, national security adviser, and Caspar Weinberger, the defense secretary. Defense official Richard Perle and Paul H. Nitze, our former arms negotiator, also wield great influence on U.S. arms policy. They hold much of the power needed to achieve nuclear arms control.



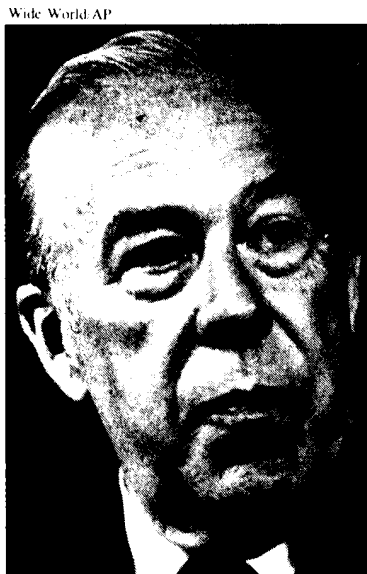
UPI

**Ronald W. Reagan, 74,** 40th U.S. President, holds the West's key to arms control. Next week, for the first time since he came to office in 1981, Reagan meets with the top Soviet leader. A hardline anti-Communist, Reagan has beefed up the U.S. military and pushed his "Star Wars" space shield, which he insists is not a "bargaining chip." Head of the world's most powerful democracy, Reagan says he is ready for "tough, but fair negotiating" with the Soviets.



Stuart Franklin/SYGMA

**Mikhail Gorbachev, 54,** top Soviet leader, meets Pres. Reagan in Geneva next week. Called a man with a "nice smile, but iron teeth," Gorbachev soared to power to become the U.S.S.R.'s youngest recent leader. Formerly head of the Soviet Ministry of Agriculture, he was raised in a peasant family and as a young man drove a tractor for four years. He says the Soviets are taking "serious steps" toward arms control but insists that the U.S. give up "Star Wars."



Wide World AP

**George P. Shultz, 64,** U.S. Secretary of State since 1982, paved the way for arms talks by meeting in January with Andrei Gromyko, then Soviet Foreign Minister. Trained in economics and labor, he has been a businessman, college teacher, and head of the Labor and Treasury Depts. Now he helps shape U.S. foreign and economic policies. He calls the Soviet arms stance "deeply flawed," adds: "If the Soviets are serious, real progress can be made."



Alain Nogués/SYGMA

**Eduard A. Shevardnadze, 57,** a Communist Party leader from Soviet Georgia, was named foreign minister in July. With little foreign policy background, he is expected to follow Gorbachev's lead. He met last month with Pres. Reagan and delivered a Soviet proposal to cut strategic nuclear arms by 50 percent. A member of the ruling Soviet Politburo since 1978, Shevardnadze has won various Soviet medals and is noted for his open, charismatic style.



**Yuli A. Kvitsinsky, 49**, heads the Soviet team at the space weapons talks. He handled medium-range weapons during START talks, where in 1982 he and U.S. negotiator Paul Nitze found grounds for agreement during their famous "walk in the woods." Kvitsinsky served in the Soviet embassies in West and East Germany and helped hammer out the four-power agreement on Berlin's fate in 1971. A lawyer, he is married with two children.

V. Zavyalov/Tass from SOVFOTO



**Max M. Kampelman, 65**, is overall head of the U.S. arms talks team. He also heads the U.S. team at the separate space weapons talks, where he promotes the President's "Star Wars" plan. A conservative Democrat, he impressed Pres. Reagan during three years of hard-nosed U.S.-Soviet talks on human rights abuses. He began the Committee on the Present Danger, a group that warns against a Soviet military lead. In his view, the Soviet Union is a "lawless society."



**John G. Tower, 60**, a former four-term U.S. Senator (R-TX), leads the U.S. team on long-range nuclear arms at the Geneva talks. In the Senate, he headed the Armed Services Committee, where he became an expert on U.S.-Soviet weapons. He refused to back the SALT II treaty in 1979. His presence in Geneva should help win Congress's okay for any U.S.-Soviet arms agreement. He says he will push for "dramatic reductions" of nuclear stockpiles.

Wide World/AP



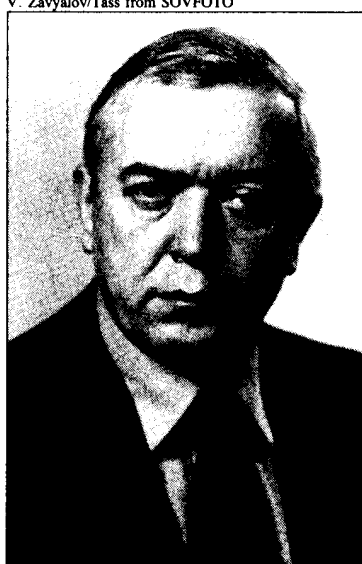
**Victor P. Karpov, 57**, leads the Soviet team at Geneva. A 14-year veteran of strategic arms talks, he is a specialist in U.S. affairs. Karpov was chief Soviet negotiator at the SALT II and START talks. He graduated from Moscow's Univ. of International Relations and was first secretary at the Soviet embassy in Washington from 1962 to 1969. Though the Soviets are trying to make the negotiations a success, he says, "It takes two to tango." Married, he has one daughter.

Wide World/AP



**Maynard (Mike) F. Glitman, 51**, a leading arms control expert, heads the U.S. team on medium-range nuclear arms at the Geneva talks. This career Foreign Service officer served as deputy to U.S. arms negotiator Paul Nitze during 1981-1983 strategic arms talks. He also headed the U.S. team in talks on reducing conventional forces in East and West Europe. He won a Defense Dept. public service medal in 1981 and has served as U.S. envoy to the United Nations and NATO.

Reuters



**Alexei Obukov, 48**, deputy to Karpov at the 1982-83 START talks, heads the Soviet team on medium-range nuclear weapons in Geneva. Earlier, he worked on SALT I and SALT II arms talks. He joined the Soviet foreign ministry 20 years ago and soon climbed to the post of deputy head of the ministry's U.S. department. A history major in college, he once attended the University of Chicago as an exchange student. Married, he has two children.

V. Zavyalov/Tass from SOVFOTO

—Maura Christopher

# WHY PAST DISARMAMENT TALKS HAVE PRODUCED SO FEW GAINS

**Hobbled by national rivalries and mutual suspicions, arms talks have had few real successes. Unhappily, finding ways to a more peaceful world has not always been the negotiators' first goal.**

**T**he men who ruled Russia were agreed: The arms race had to stop. Russia couldn't keep pace with the West's weapons buildup, said the minister of war, so why not negotiate a mutual arms freeze?

The minister of finance concurred. The Russian people want more consumer goods, he said, and we should be spending less on the military and more to modernize our inefficient industries. Besides, he added, modern weapons had become horribly destructive. Most experts now agreed with the view that war was "impossible except at the price of suicide."

The ministers also knew that Russia, which had recently tried to subdue Afghanistan, was widely feared as a warlike power. A Russian government call for international disarmament talks would surely be, at this time, an excellent stroke of peace propaganda.

## THE CZAR'S PROBLEM

This exchange may sound like a meeting of the Politburo (Political Bureau), the small ruling body of the Soviet Communist Party, whose general secretary is now Mikhail Gorbachev. In reality, however, that conversation took place in 1898—19 years before the Communist revolution—when Czar Nicholas II ruled Russia.

The Czar, then 30 years old, had a problem. Three Western nations—France, Germany, and Austria—were introducing a new artillery piece that could fire six times faster than any Russian weapon. If only someone would "keep people from inventing things," the Czar sighed.

What could he do to counter the threat of the new weapon? He could not afford to re-equip his entire army, so he did the next best thing. He called the world's first multinational arms limitation conference.

The history of that conference, and of others that followed it, illustrates some of the political pressures that always confront arms negotiators. As you will see, finding a way to a more peaceful world is not always the negotiators' first priority. Disarmament talks have as often as not been derailed by mutual suspicions and national rivalries.

In 1898, world leaders reacted to the Czar's invitation with amazement and distrust. Britain's Prince of Wales dismissed it as "the greatest nonsense and rubbish I ever heard of." At the British Foreign Office, the statesman Arthur Balfour warned of "the increasing growth and power of Russia"—which, he predicted, would someday dominate Eastern Europe.

## PRO-WAR SENTIMENTS

The French would not listen to talk of peace until they had recovered Alsace-Lorraine, a former province conquered by Germany in 1871. "To renounce war is in a sense to renounce one's country," proclaimed one French soldier.

U.S. Navy Captain Alfred T. Mahan agreed with those sentiments. An influential authority on naval strategy, Mahan argued that war was a "heroic" enterprise, allowing fit nations to subdue weaker ones. If combat gave way to negotiation, he warned, Western civilization "might not survive, having lost its fighting energy."

When the Russian foreign minister talked of limiting armies, Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany exploded. "Idiot!" he snarled. Didn't the Russian see that smaller armies might make arms manufacturers unable to pay their workers?

But the public's response to the Czar's summons was enthusiastic. A disarmament conference "will sound like beautiful music over the whole



**Czar Nicholas II called the world's first disarmament conference. He hoped that the results would save Russia money.**

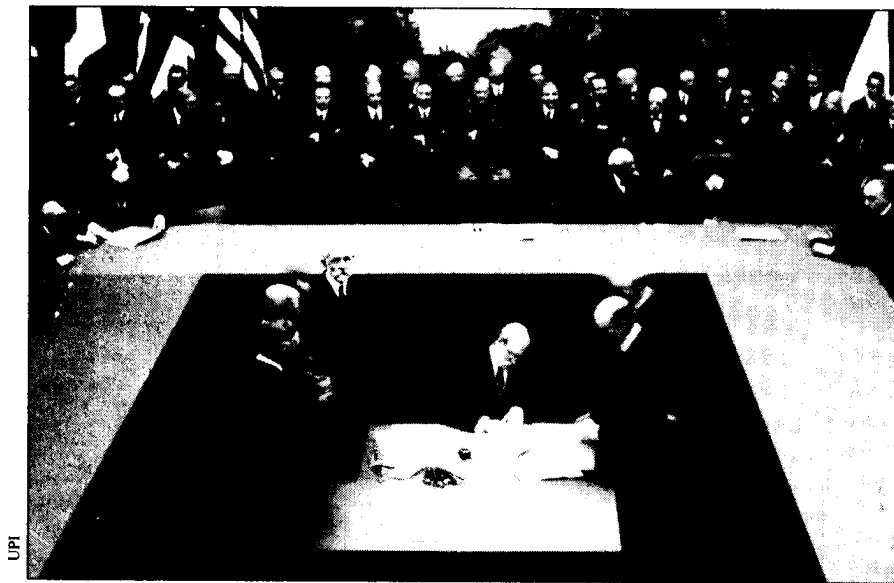
earth," an Austrian newspaper proclaimed. Editorial writers elsewhere looked forward to "a new epoch in civilization," to the "dawn of a new era," and to "the most momentous and beneficent movement in modern history—indeed in all history."

Politicians were deluged by hundreds of petitions urging them to participate in the conference. Responding to that pressure, 26 governments relented. They sent representatives to the International Peace Conference at The Hague, the Netherlands, in 1899.

Delegates there found it difficult to agree on anything. Smaller nations backed a proposal affirming the right of civilians to resist an invader, but Germany and Russia—the most likely invaders—defeated the plan. The Germans would not consider limits on naval construction as long as their navy was inferior to Britain's.

Britain opposed a ban on seizing merchant ships at sea. In the event of war, the British navy was planning to intercept freighters bound for German ports. Naturally, the Germans were happy to support a ban on seizing merchant ships—until a German naval officer raised an ingenious objection. If German merchantmen were protected by international law, he reasoned,





U.S. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes signs one of nine treaties that emerged from the Washington Conference in 1922. The main accord limited the battleships in the U.S., British, Japanese, French, and Italian fleets.

they would not need a German navy to guard them. The German parliament might then cut the navy's budget—and *that*, said the officer, the German navy could never permit.

Verification—the process of determining whether nations are complying with an agreement—bedevils arms negotiators today. Eighty-six years ago, at The Hague, it was an equally large obstacle to agreement. The diplomats could not work out a reliable system of on-site inspection and verification for any disarmament proposal.

### A HOLLOW PROMISE

Not that they didn't try. A Russian representative promised that "public opinion and parliamentary institutions" would watch out for treaty violations. But the other delegates saw no way that these safeguards could work with Czar Nicholas. He had no parliament to answer to, for one thing. For another, he usually responded to expressions of public opinion by tossing dissidents in jail.

The conference did outlaw dum dum bullets—bullets that expand on impact, causing terrible wounds. Still, two nations protested. One, Britain, had used dum dums in its African colonies. The U.S., which had just won the Philippines in a war with Spain, planned to use dum dums against guerrillas there. The U.S. delegate—none other than Captain Mahan—registered another protest when the conference banned the use of poison gas. The

U.S., Mahan said, would never restrict "the inventive genius of its citizens in providing weapons of war."

There was not much dispute over a plan to prohibit aerial bombing from balloons. Airships were not yet very useful in warfare, anyway. But the delegates realized that, with advances in technology, aircraft might soon become valuable weapons, so the ban was applied for only five years.

Another achievement was the creation of the Hague Tribunal, a permanent court set up to arbitrate international disputes. No nation was compelled to go before this court.

### GERMAN OPPOSITION

Nonetheless, Germany was absolutely opposed to it, on the grounds that it might dull the nation's military edge. At the time, the German army was the most efficient in the world. It could be ready to fight while other armies were still struggling to mobilize their forces. The Germans reasoned that if they submitted a dispute to the Hague Tribunal and waited for a decision, they would lose the military advantage of striking first.

Delegates from other nations were afraid to go home without at least one major agreement, so they put great pressure on the Germans to back the Tribunal. Kaiser Wilhelm swore at "all this nonsense" about peace conferences. "In practice . . . I shall rely on God and my sharp sword!" he vowed. Nonetheless, he consented to

sign the agreement.

The Permanent Court of International Arbitration was a notable accomplishment. The U.S. would bring several cases before the new tribunal, including disputes over Venezuelan debts and Newfoundland fishing rights. The tribunal lives on today as the International Court of Justice, or World Court, one of the six major organs of the United Nations.

Still, the Hague Conference did nothing to reduce armaments and very little to make war less cruel. The British naval delegate, Sir John Fisher, expressed the view of most delegates when he said that only a "silly ass" could believe in "the humanizing of war. You might just as well talk of humanizing Hell!" he added.

In 1905, Admiral Fisher launched the *HMS Dreadnought*, the world's first modern battleship. That new piece of military technology plunged Britain and Germany into a naval arms race that would turn out to be a major cause of World War I. That war—the most destructive conflict in history—began in 1914, and all the idealistic hopes of the Hague Conference were forgotten. German submarines sank neutral merchant ships, German bombers launched the first air raids against civilian targets, and on the battlefield both sides used poison gas against enemy troops.

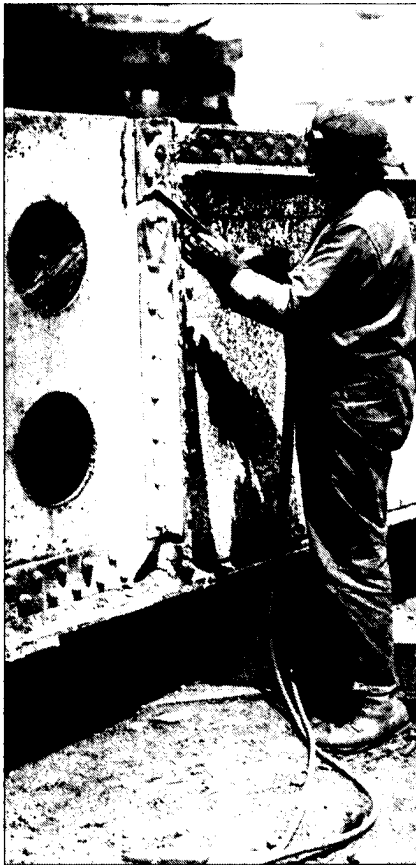
### DISARMING GERMANY

The Treaty of Versailles (1919), which ended World War I, forced a defeated Germany to disarm. She was allowed no air force, no tanks, no heavy artillery, and no submarines. Her army was cut to 100,000 men.

The victorious allies were also ready for disarmament. Exhausted by the war, struggling with a postwar recession, citizens everywhere were demanding cuts in arms expenditures. In the island nation of Japan, while many citizens went hungry, the government spent nearly a third of the national budget on the navy.

The U.S. Congress voted almost unanimously to call an international conference on naval arms reductions. The result was a meeting in Washington, DC, of negotiators from nine nations. The Washington Armament Conference, as it was called, ran nearly three months—from November 12, 1921, to February 6, 1922.





A worker helps cut up a U.S. battleship in 1924, to bring the U.S. into compliance with the 1922 disarmament treaty.

U.S. Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes opened the Washington Conference with a bombshell. He proposed to halt all major naval construction for 10 years and to scrap 78 planned or existing battleships—30 American, 23 British, and 25 Japanese. "Hughes sank in 35 minutes more ships than all the admirals in the world have sunk," one astonished observer reported.

The other delegates were shocked, but the world press hailed Hughes as a hero of peace. "Never in the history of mankind has the world been nearer the dream of brotherhood," proclaimed a London journal. The Hughes plan, said a Paris editorial, was a "noble and dramatic stroke which staggers humanity." A U.S. newspaper called the proposal good old "American horse sense."

The delegates agreed to limit the total tonnage of their battleships—525,000 tons for the U.S. and Britain, 315,000 for Japan, 175,000 for France and Italy. They also placed a limit on the number of aircraft carriers each nation could have and promised

## Mileposts on the Road to Geneva

**FORTY YEARS** of effort preceded the nuclear arms talks now going on in Geneva. Among the milestones:

**1946:** U.S. "Baruch Plan" at the United Nations asks international control of nuclear development. Soviets say U.S. arms must first be destroyed. U.S. insists control must come first. No agreement.

**1963:** Limited Nuclear Test Ban Treaty bars air, ocean, outer space tests of nuclear weapons.

**1967:** Peaceful Uses of Outer Space Treaty bars atomic arms in space. Treaty of Tlatelolco bars nuclear weapons throughout Latin America.

**1968:** Non-Proliferation Treaty bars giving atomic arms to non-nuclear states. More than 100 non-nuclear nations sign the treaty, agreeing to forego nuclear weapons.

**1971:** Seabed Arms Control Treaty bars

nuclear arms on ocean floor.

**1972:** Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) limit anti-ballistic missile (ABM) sites, new ABM technology, and freeze numbers of ICBMs and SLBMs.

**1979:** SALT II limits each side to 2,250 strategic weapons by 1981. U.S. fails to ratify treaty after Soviets invade Afghanistan, but both sides abide by agreement.

**1982:** President Reagan urges Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), proposes cutting warheads by one-third—to 5,000 for each side, limiting ICBMs to 850 each.

**1983:** President Reagan urges Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars" program). Soviets quit arms talks after U.S. deploys medium-range missiles in Europe.

**1985:** U.S.-Soviets resume nuclear arms reduction talks in Geneva.

—P.M.J.

not to fortify their island possessions in the Pacific Ocean.

The Washington Conference was the most successful disarmament parley in history. Could today's negotiators at Geneva achieve a similar reduction in nuclear weapons? Perhaps, but bear in mind that arms control was easier back in 1921. Unlike the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. today, the powers represented at the Washington Conference were not divided by serious ideological differences. Also, they did not face the same problems of verification. A cruise missile is much easier to hide than a battleship.

### A SECOND TRY

The arms race was slowed by the Washington Conference, but it was not ended. The delegates could not agree on limiting cruisers, destroyers, submarines, aircraft, or land weapons. In 1927, a second conference was called at Geneva to address the problems these weapons posed, but delegates there accomplished nothing.

In 1928, the U.S. signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact, which was supposed to outlaw war. But there were no means of enforcing the treaty, which was named after the U.S. secretary of state and the French foreign minister. Six months after it was signed, Congress demonstrated its lack of faith in the agreement by voting to build 15 new cruisers.

A 1930 conference at London, England, scrapped nine more of the largest warships belonging to Britain, the U.S., and Japan. Delegates also secured some limits on cruisers, destroyers, and submarines.

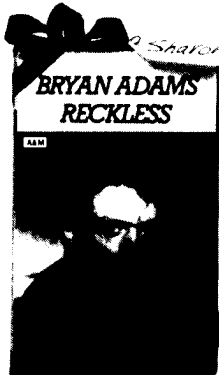
The following year, however, Japan invaded Manchuria. The invasion violated the Washington treaties, the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and the charter of the League of Nations. Historians today view the action as the "opening shot" in what would later become the Second World War.

In 1932, a final effort was made at Geneva to head off an uncontrolled arms buildup. U.S. President Herbert Hoover urged the abolition of all "offensive" weapons. But the delegates could not decide which arms were "offensive" and which were "defensive." As Secretary of State Henry Stimson admitted, the Hoover plan was "just another proposition from Alice in Wonderland."

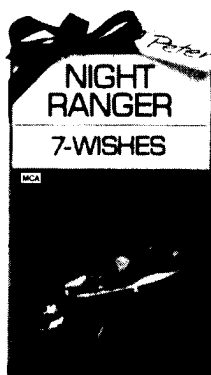
Before the conference broke up, Japan announced that she would no longer obey the limits of the Washington and London agreements. In 1935, Adolf Hitler declared that he would tear up the Versailles Treaty and rearm Germany. "The disarmament question," Hitler said, "will not be solved at the conference table." In fact, it was solved only by another arms race—and another world war.

—Jonathan Rose

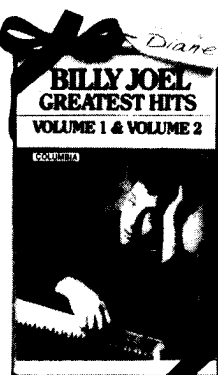
# 11 CHRISTMAS PRESENTS



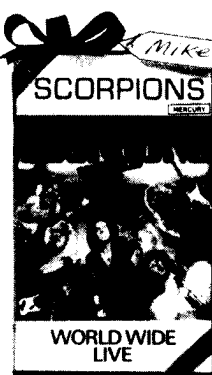
**331264.** "His best to date!" —People. Top 10 hit *Run To You*; many more.



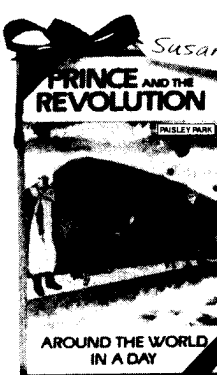
**336305.** "Solidly rocking!" *Cash Box*. Hit/MTV video *Sentimental Street*; etc.



**336396-396390.** *Piano Man*; *You're Only Human*; *Uptown Girl*; more.



**337154-397158.** Chockful of great hits: *Coming Home*; *You*; *Big City Nights*; etc.



**335562.** "Prince's finest hour!" —*NY Times*. Hit *Raspberry Beret*; etc.



**336669.** Top 10 smash *If You Love Somebody Set Them Free*; others.

337196*	ORIGINAL SOUNDTRACK	St. Elmo's Fire
337618	ATLANTA ARTISTS	CAMEO SINGLE LIFE
337527	[ATLANTA]	LAURA BRANIGAN HOLD ME
334391*	[ATLANTA]	WHITNEY HOUSTON
333294	[ATLANTA]	THE FIRM
338145	VARIOUS ARTISTS	PORTRAITS OF A KIDNAP AMERICA'S GREATEST MUSICIANS
335919*	[ATLANTA]	JEFF BECK FLASH
335539	[ATLANTA]	MERLE HAGGARD HIS BEST
335356*	[ATLANTA]	CHEAP TRICK STAND ON THE EDGE
335117	[ATLANTA]	JOHN SCHNEIDER TRYIN' TO OUTRIN THE WIND
333369*	[ATLANTA]	RATT
333260*	[ATLANTA]	DAVID LEE ROTH Crazy From The Heat
332197	[ATLANTA]	DON HENLEY BUILDING THE PERFECT BEAST
328625	[ATLANTA]	GLENN FREY THE ALLNIGHTER
327856	[ATLANTA]	ELTON JOHN Breaking Hearts
325738	[ATLANTA]	RATT OUT OF THE CELLAR
324616	[ATLANTA]	CYNID LAUPER SHE'S SO UNUSUAL
323444	[ATLANTA]	MOTLEY CRUE SHOUT AT THE DEVIL
325845	[ATLANTA]	SCORPIONS Love At First Sting
327908	[ATLANTA]	SCANDAL WARRIOR
328302*	[ATLANTA]	TINA TURNER PRIVATE DANCER
328435	[ATLANTA]	PURPLE RAIN AND THE REVOLUTION
331496*	[ATLANTA]	PHILIP BAILEY Chinese Wall
331975*	[ATLANTA]	GIUFFRIA
333195	[ATLANTA]	GEORGE BENSON 20/20
333278	[ATLANTA]	MICK JAGGER SHE'S THE BOSS
333682	[ATLANTA]	Alan Parsons Project VULTURE CULTURE
335109	[ATLANTA]	LEE GREENWOOD GREATEST HITS
335174*	[ATLANTA]	LOUDNESS THUNDER IN THE EAST
335281	[ATLANTA]	MILES DAVIS You're Under Arrest
335885	[ATLANTA]	THE STATLERS Partners In Rhyme
336313*	[ATLANTA]	FREDDIE JACKSON ROCK ME TONIGHT
336347*	[ATLANTA]	KIM CARNES Barking At Airplanes
335349*	[ATLANTA]	JOHN CAFFERTY AND THE BLUE BROWN BAND TOUGH ALL OVER
335752*	[ATLANTA]	LOVE JUSTICE

338137*	[ATLANTA]	MIDNIGHT OIL RED SAILS IN THE SUEZ
337477*	[ATLANTA]	A LITTLE SPICE LOOSE ENDS
337287*	[ATLANTA]	DEPECHE MODE People Are People
336339	[ATLANTA]	BELLAMY BROTHERS HOWARD & DAVID
335158*	[ATLANTA]	GRAHAM PARKER THE BEST STEADY NERVES
334995*	[ATLANTA]	ALISON MOYET ALF
333781*	[ATLANTA]	SLADE ROGUES GALLERY
331892	[ATLANTA]	BARBRA STREISAND EMOTION
328658	[ATLANTA]	JULIO IGLESIAS 1100 Bel Air Place
327298	[ATLANTA]	CHICAGO 17 FULL MOON, WINDY CITY A REPERCUSSION
325852	[ATLANTA]	RUSH GRACE UNDER PRESSURE
322438	[ATLANTA]	YES 90125
319962	[ATLANTA]	LOVERBOY KEEP IT UP
318931	[ATLANTA]	BRYAN ADAMS Cuts Like A Knife
317875	[ATLANTA]	COMMODORES ALL THE GREATEST HITS
314047	[ATLANTA]	ASIA
311738	[ATLANTA]	BEST OF THE DOOBIE BROTHERS
294843	[ATLANTA]	BEST OF ZZ TOP
306589	[ATLANTA]	LINDA RONSTADT GREATEST HITS, Vol. 2
312330	[ATLANTA]	BEST OF TED NUGENT GREAT GONZOS
317974	[ATLANTA]	SQUEEZE SINGLES 45's AND UNDER
318089	[ATLANTA]	MICHAEL JACKSON THRILLER
319541	[ATLANTA]	ELTON JOHN'S GREATEST HITS
319822	[ATLANTA]	DAVID BOWIE LETS DANCE
322412	[ATLANTA]	John Cougar Mellencamp UH HUH
323345	[ATLANTA]	BLACK SABBATH BYRON AGAIN
325682	[ATLANTA]	KENNY ROGERS WITH KIM CARNES, BILLY JOEL AND OUTRAGE
327304	[ATLANTA]	THE JACKSONS VICTORY
331413	[ATLANTA]	BANANARAMA
331934*	[ATLANTA]	THE BEST OF BILL COSBY
332346	[ATLANTA]	DICK CLARK PRESENTS RADIO'S UNDISCOVERED JOYBOYS
334078*	[ATLANTA]	JESSE JOHNSON'S REVUE
335273	[ATLANTA]	MOE BANDY BARROOM ROSES
336008*	[ATLANTA]	JOE WALSH THE CONFESSOR
334961*	[ATLANTA]	MAZE THUNDERBOLTS CAN'T STOP THE LOVE

337188*	[ATLANTA]	ARETHA FRANKLIN WHO'S ZOOMIN' WHO?
337493*	[ATLANTA]	PEABO BRYSON TAKE NO PRISONERS
336321	[ATLANTA]	REBA MCFENTIRE HAVE YOU A DEAL FOR YOU
335950	[ATLANTA]	EARL KLUGH SOUL FOUNTAIN SHUFFLE
333807	[ATLANTA]	MERLE HAGGARD KERN RIVER
332397*	[ATLANTA]	JACK WAGNER ALL I NEED
326512	[ATLANTA]	NIGHT RANGER Midnight Madness
325928	[ATLANTA]	LAURA BRANIGAN SELF CONTROL
324632	[ATLANTA]	JUDAS PREST JUDAS PREST OF THE FAITH
323360*	[ATLANTA]	RICHARD PRYOR HERE AND NOW
322917	[ATLANTA]	38 SPECIAL TOUR DE FORCE
319608	[ATLANTA]	MEN AT WORK CARGO
318154	[ATLANTA]	DURAN DURAN RIO
318055	[ATLANTA]	FOREIGNER RECORDS
314443	[ATLANTA]	NEIL DIAMOND 12 GREATEST HITS
312389	[ATLANTA]	AC/DC FOR THOSE ABOUT TO ROCK WE SALUTE YOU
306241	[ATLANTA]	THE DOORS GREATEST HITS
300095	[ATLANTA]	Electric Light Orch. ELO's Greatest Hits
291641	[ATLANTA]	JIMI HENDRIX SMASH HITS
298133	[ATLANTA]	RICHARD PRYOR'S GREATEST HITS
307967	[ATLANTA]	PHIL COLLINS FACE VALUE
312314	[ATLANTA]	CHICAGO'S GREATEST HITS, Vol. 2
314401	[ATLANTA]	VAN HALEN DIVER DOWN
317917	[ATLANTA]	PHIL COLLINS HELLO, I MUST BE GOING
318071	[ATLANTA]	LED ZEPPELIN CODA
318550	[ATLANTA]	DEF LEPPARD PYROMANIA
319624	[ATLANTA]	ZZ TOP ELIMINATOR
320549	[ATLANTA]	ROBERT PLANT THE PRINCIPLE OF MOMENTS
323329	[ATLANTA]	"Every Great Motown Hit Of MARVIN GAYE"
323477	[ATLANTA]	BLUE OYSTER CULT THE REVOLUTION BY NIGHT
326082	[ATLANTA]	STEVE PERRY STREET TALK
333039*	[ATLANTA]	BRONSKI BEAT THE AGE OF CONSENT
335000	[ATLANTA]	GENE WATSON GREATEST HITS
335042*	[ATLANTA]	KEEL The Right To Rock
335067	[ATLANTA]	JOHN CAFFERTY WALKING WITH A LION AND THE BLUE BROWN BAND TOUGH ALL OVER

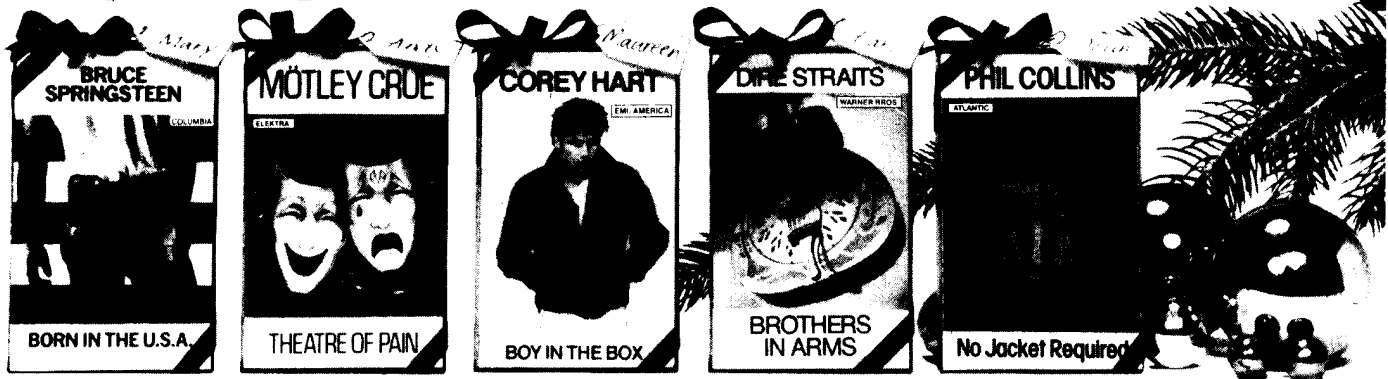
337956*	[ATLANTA]	BOB DYLAN Empire Burlesque
337121*	[ATLANTA]	ORIGINAL SOUNDTRACK Back To The Future
337626*	[ATLANTA]	CRUSH ORCHESTRAL MANEUVERS IN THE DARK
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Boys, Hank Williams Jr.

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335893* Y & T OPEN FIRE	336867* READY FOR THE WORLD	336826* BRYAN FERRY BOYS AND GIRLS	336875* R.E.M. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE PAIDLES	336495* ICE and TINA TURNER GET BACK
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(But I am always free to choose from any category)

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|--|---|--|
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| <input type="checkbox"/> <b>COUNTRY</b><br>Willie Nelson, Hank Williams, Jr., Oak Ridge Boys | <input type="checkbox"/> <b>EASY LISTENING</b><br>Nat King Cole, Mantovani Orch., Johnny Mathis | <input type="checkbox"/> <b>CLASSICAL</b><br>(no 8-Tracks)                           |
| <input type="checkbox"/> <b>JAZZ</b> (no 8-Tracks)   |   |  |

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336529* JALANTIC SISTER SLEDGE WHEN THE BOYS MEET THE GIRLS	336925* COLUMBIA JOE PISCOPO NEW JERSEY	336362 OAK RIDGE BOYS STEP ON OUT



Susan Stolz Big Red Productions

Two Americans chat with their Soviet hosts at Tbilisi, the capital of the Soviet republic of Georgia. From left: Leanne Roberts and Gerald Dial, both Americans, and two "citizen diplomats," a teenager named Yuri and his sister, Nina.

## AMERICAN TEENAGERS MEET SOVIET "CITIZEN DIPLOMATS"

**A visit to the Soviet Union last spring was a mind-bending experience for several U.S. teenagers. Soviet teenagers are much different—and more like them—than they had ever imagined.**

Last April, Susan Erdek, 16, had a shattering experience—on a subway train in Moscow, thousands of miles from her Collegeville, Pennsylvania, home. "We were coming back to our hotel from Red Square at night," she recalled. "A lot of soldiers were on the subway, holding their girlfriends' arms and carrying packages for them. I was amazed. I never thought of people holding hands over there. When you think of Russian relationships, the guy is always drunk on vodka and hitting his wife."

The experience shattered a stereotype—an oversimplified view that Susan held of people who, she suddenly realized, were as complicated—and as human—as Americans. Many of the U.S. teenagers she visited the Soviet Union with had similar experiences.

Most of them were unexpected. "I didn't meet any Soviet students who couldn't speak English well," said Kim Roberts, 16, from Middlesex, New Jersey. "But we didn't know

quite what to say to each other. We talked about school, and some of the girls told me that they cheat on tests, just like American kids sometimes do." Students are under similar pressures everywhere, she realized.

The U.S. students' 18-day trip was arranged by a former teacher from New Jersey. Their itinerary brought them in contact with Soviet high school students in the cities of Moscow, Leningrad, and Tbilisi, the capital of the Soviet republic of Georgia.

### PEACE COMMITTEES

The Soviet students were practicing "citizen diplomacy," an increasingly popular activity for Soviet citizens of all ages. Citizen diplomats belong to groups that call themselves Committees for the Defense of Peace. Recently, these groups have been popping up in cities throughout the Soviet Union. They give local residents the chance to meet foreign visitors to talk about common interests and peace.

Meetings among adults often take place in elegant rooms. Soviet students, representing the youth branch of the peace committees, receive their foreign counterparts in schools.

The U.S. teenagers who met the Soviet students had specific reasons for going. "There's too much tension and danger in the way we see each other, the Soviet Union and the United States," said Tom Ciocco, 17, from Westwood, New Jersey. "We get too much that's not true from both sides. I wanted to come to the Soviet Union to try to understand the people. I knew inside that Russians would not be different from Americans, and I wanted to confirm that."

At their first official meeting, in Moscow High School No. 45, the U.S. and Russian students felt awkward. Tom met a student named Sasha, a member of the Komsomol, or Young Communist League. "He told me he wanted to be a judge," Tom recalled. "To do that, he has to join the Communist Party, which he said he would do when he gets older."

Tom felt that Sasha seemed uncomfortable talking in front of his school principal. "When we went outside," Tom said, "he opened up more."

Their conversation drifted to the American novel, J.D. Salinger's

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*Catcher in The Rye*, which Sasha's class was studying. The novel, though comic on the surface, concerns a teenager who is driven crazy by the "phoniness" around him.

To Tom's surprise, he and Sasha saw the book completely differently. "He didn't think it was funny at all," Tom said. "He thought it was sad, that it was a shame somebody like Holden Caulfield, the novel's hero, could exist. I just couldn't get him to see how funny the book was."

The Americans discovered that Soviet students are taught to take a lot of things seriously, including peace. September 1, the first day of school in the Soviet Union, is also Peace Day. The day is devoted to lectures and poems that praise peace and condemn war. Students are reminded once again of the 20 million Soviet lives lost during World War II, the conflict that Soviet textbooks call "the Great War for the Fatherland." More movies, plays, and books are produced on World War II than on any other event, keeping the memory of the war alive in students' minds.

### NEWS ON ARMS TALKS

Despite all this, the U.S. students found it odd that the people they met knew so little about the U.S.-Soviet arms talks. After a break of nearly two years, these talks resumed in Geneva, Switzerland, one month before the Americans visited the U.S.S.R.

The Soviet press regularly prints bulletins stating that a certain meeting took place in a "constructive atmosphere." But, unlike U.S. newspapers and TV, the Soviet press never reports specific disarmament proposals.

Ordinary Soviet citizens appear to believe that their government is negotiating in their best interests. Many feel that the best way they can contribute to peace is not by pressing their government to act but by engaging in citizen diplomacy.

Sometimes, those efforts can be quite energetic. At meetings in Lenin-grad and Tbilisi, the Soviet students prepared short programs of music and dancing for the Americans. They even sang the hymn, "My Country, 'Tis of Thee"—in English. In response, the American teenagers sang "We Are the World," the song written to raise money for African famine victims.

Everywhere they went, the Americans were impressed by the friendli-

ness and hospitality shown them. "I found people so much friendlier than I'd expected," said Gerald Dial, a student from New Jersey.

Gerald was one of two black students on the trip, something which seemed to confuse the Soviets, who live with their own stereotypes of life in America. "Usually people thought the two of us were Africans," Gerald told UPDATE. "They asked us if we were from Zaire! When I told them I was from America, they wanted to treat us to dinners. It seemed like it was a real privilege for them to be seen with an American."

In the schools, the black students had to deal with some misconceptions about the U.S. "The students kept asking me how we'd gotten the chance to go on the trip, due to segregation in America," Gerald said. "What I told them was that every black student in America has an opportunity to succeed. Their idea of America was that it hadn't changed since the 1950s."

### UNEXPECTED WARMTH

The warmth of many Russians amazed Tom Ciocco, too. "We met this one guy named Nicky, in Tbilisi," Tom said. "He invited us home for dinner and to meet his son, who was two years old. He said, 'Just wait till my son gets old enough so I can tell him he played with five Americans one evening in our home!' He was so excited, I couldn't believe it."

In Tbilisi, a student named Yuri gave Tom his opinion of the U.S., and a reporter recorded his halting words. "America for me," he said, "is good country. Sure. And I hope we will have both countries to have one language, to have a good situation for each other. Some people say that a friend is a boy or girl who lives behind you or close by. But Tom, you came from America, and we are now friends, because you think as I do."

Tom's description of that encounter seemed to sum up the many efforts the Soviet and American teenagers made to bridge the gaps that separated them. "I wanted Yuri to see that I'm not a monster, and for me to see that he's not a monster," he said. "Sometimes," he went on, "it can be a forced thing if you put people together and say, 'Make friends!' If things click, great. If they don't, you have to try again later."

—Naomi Marcus

**WORDPOWER**

**ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile):** An attack missile fired at an incoming ballistic missile. A 1972 U.S.-Soviet treaty limits each to one ABM site. Soviets say U.S. "Star Wars" plan violates treaty. U.S. denies it.

**Ballistic Missile:** Liquid- or solid-fueled rocket, topped by a nuclear warhead. Fired to a predetermined target, it cannot change course in flight.

**Cruise Missile:** An 18-ft. pilotless jet aircraft which carries a nuclear or non-nuclear bomb. It can be launched from planes, ground, or submarines. Long or short range, it flies low, avoiding enemy radar and ABMs.

**First Strike:** First offensive move in a nuclear war. U.S. is concerned that Soviet numerical superiority in ICBMs could enable them to destroy U.S. missiles in a first strike before U.S. weapons are launched.

**INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces):** Bombers, cruise, surface-to-surface land-launched missiles in Europe belonging to Soviets, U.S., and U.S. European allies. Range of INF weapons limits their use to Western Europe, the U.S.S.R., and Asia.

**Kiloton:** Explosive power equal to 1,000 tons of TNT. U.S. bomb

dropped on Hiroshima, Japan, in 1945, was about 13 kilotons. Such a bomb is small by today's standards.

**Megaton:** Power equal to about 1 million tons of TNT.

**MIRV (Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle):** Multiple warheads atop a missile. On approaching enemy, each may be fired to a different target. Today's missiles can carry up to 10 warheads.

**MX (Missile Experimental):** A U.S. design not yet deployed. MX would carry eight to 10 warheads.

**NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization):** Military alliance of U.S., Canada, 14 European nations. Founded in 1949, NATO goal is to repel Soviet attack in Western Europe.

**SALT:** Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, begun in 1969. First treaty was signed in 1972. A second—SALT II—signed in 1979, was not ratified by U.S. Senate, but both sides have generally lived up to its terms.

**SDI (Strategic Defense Initiative) or "Star Wars":** Laser or particle-beam research begun by President Reagan. SDI seeks a space-based defense that would use lasers to destroy incoming enemy missiles. Soviets oppose SDI,

fearing that the U.S., protected from Soviet missiles, might start a nuclear war. President Reagan says the U.S. would give SDI to Soviets to show peaceful intent. Scientists disagree on question of whether SDI will work.

**Second Strike:** Ability of a nation to launch a nuclear attack after it has been hit by nuclear weapons. Inability of a nation to do this raises fears that, in a crisis, it might launch a *First Strike* to avoid loss of its arsenal.

**Silo:** A steel and concrete underground firing tube for intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs).


**SLBM (Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile):** Rocket-powered missile fired from a submarine. U.S. has approximately 640 SLBMs with 5,728 warheads to the U.S.S.R.'s 930 SLBMs with 2,088 warheads. Nuclear-powered subs remain submerged for long periods of time, making SLBMs hard to detect and destroy.

**Triad:** Three-part nuclear defense system, consisting of ICBMs, SLBMs, and manned bombers. Intent of triad is to disperse weapons so as to limit an enemy's ability to destroy all of them in a surprise attack.

—Peter M. Jones

# FINAL TEST TOMORROW


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## WORDSEARCH

E K A R P O V D F S  
 V N N U C L E A R T  
 I E I N S T E I N R  
 T D O R E I G I I A  
 A E G N A M L Y U T  
 I F T A B M O B R E  
 T E B L E U B A N G  
 I N S R A S T U O I  
 N S K T T S O M S C  
 I E Z E E R F W A R

The words on the list are hidden in the diagram. When you find them, circle them. Each word runs in a straight line. Some of them run on a slant, or backwards. (See *FREEZE*, in the example.)

Eleven letters will be left over. In order, they spell a nickname for the State Department:

\_\_\_\_\_

ABM  
 Bang  
 Bomb  
 Détente

Einstein  
 Karpov  
 Kremlin  
 Nuclear Freeze\*  
 Ruin

SALT  
 Seas  
 SLBM  
 START

Strategic Defense Initiative\*  
 Submarine  
 Summit  
 U.S.S.R.  
 War

\*Written as separate words in diagram.

## CROSSWORD

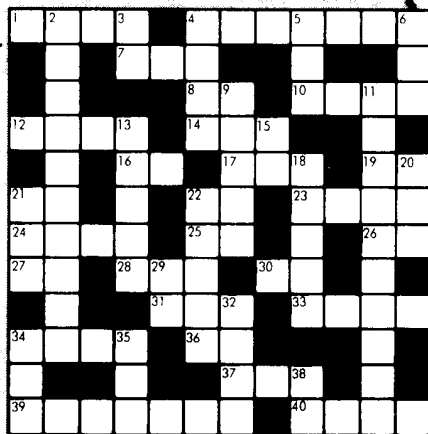
\*Starred clues refer to articles in this issue.

## ACROSS

1. Thought, concept.
- \*4. Cruise or Pershing.
7. Hawaiian wear.
8. Bordered by CT and MA.
10. Its capital is Des Moines.
- \*12. With 17 Across, 1963 arms treaty.
14. Video cassette recorder, for short.
16. Str. or ave.
- \*17. See 12 Across.
19. Do, \_\_\_\_, mi.
21. Mrs.' mate.
22. Transcendental meditation, for short.
- \*23. Soviet Union.
- \*24. Prefix meaning million, often precedes *ton*.
25. Anglo-Saxon (abbr.).
26. North of LA, south of MO.
27. Not out.
28. First state in the union.
30. "\_\_\_\_, the people . . ."
31. Also known as.
33. Drinks slowly.
34. Shakespeare's *King* \_\_\_\_.
36. Senior (abbr.).
- \*37. What Mutually Assured Destruction is.
- \*39. 4 Down, 5 Down, and 9 Down.
- \*40. Adversary of 11 Down.

## DOWN

- \*2. Military buildup with the aim of discouraging attack.



3. American League, for short.
- \*4. Multiple Independently Targetable Reentry Vehicle.
- \*5. Strategic Defense Initiative.
6. Defeated Const. amendment.
- \*9. Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles.
- \*11. Organization of Russia and its allies, formed 1955.
- \*13. Strategy of three means of military attack.
15. Radium, to a chemist.
- \*18. Nuclear devices, for short.
20. Make a mistake.
21. 2001, to Caesar.
- \*22. See 32 Down.
29. Each (abbr.).
- \*32. With 22 Down, what's going on in Geneva.
- \*34. What SALT I is but SALT II isn't.
35. Rest in Peace, on a grave-stone.
38. Down (abbr.).

## SCRAMBLER

Unscramble the letters in each of the four words listed below. Each word will spell an African nation. Write the nations in the spaces provided. The encircled letters, when rearranged on the lines at the bottom, will answer the riddle.

GOOT



OOCMORC



MORENACO



WATSANO



Riddle: Why was Uncle Sam storing missiles in the silos on his farm?

Answer: To hide them from

“ \_ \_ \_ \_ \_ ”!

Answers in your teacher's edition.  
 Puzzles created by Andrew Gyory



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ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

AREA CODE PHONE  US CITIZEN YES ☐ NO ☐

SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER  BIRTH DATE

OCCUPATION

STUDENT ☐ HIGH SCHOOL ☐ COLLEGE ☐  
PRIOR MILITARY SERVICE YES ☐ NO ☐

BRANCH  RANK  AFM MOS

**ARMY**

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**SCHOLASTIC UPDATE POST-TEST**

Use with this week's UPDATE on Nuclear Arms.

**General Directions:** On the line to the left of each statement, write the letter of the choice that best completes the statement or answers the question.

**A. MATCH 'EM**

Match items in Column A and B. For a BONUS, spell out what each set of letters stands for.

**Column A**

- a. could reach the U.S.S.R. from the U.S. — and vice versa
- b. never approved by Congress
- c. limits U.S. and U.S.S.R. to one nuclear defense site each
- d. organization of East European nations
- e. high-priority, U.S.-defense research
- f. ties U.S. to West Europe's defense

**Column B**

- 1. NATO \_\_\_\_\_
- 2. ABM Treaty \_\_\_\_\_
- 3. SDI \_\_\_\_\_
- 4. ICBMs \_\_\_\_\_
- 5. SALT II Treaty \_\_\_\_\_

**B. TRUE (T) OR FALSE (F)?**

- \_\_\_ 1. There are no long-range nuclear missiles based in Europe.
- \_\_\_ 2. The U.S. has fewer long-range nuclear weapons than the Soviet Union.
- \_\_\_ 3. The U.S. has deployed nuclear weapons in East European countries.
- \_\_\_ 4. The U.S. is obliged by treaty not to test nuclear weapons in space.
- \_\_\_ 5. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are the only nations with nuclear weapons.

**C. WHAT'S HIS NAME?**

- \_\_\_ 1. Current leader of the U.S.S.R.:  
(a) Gorbachev; (b) Gromyko; (c) Glitman.
- \_\_\_ 2. Head of 1985 U.S. arms negotiations team:  
(a) Kampelman; (b) Kennedy; (c) Kissinger.
- \_\_\_ 3. Soviet leader in current talks on space weapons:

- (a) Karpov; (b) Kvitsinsky; (c) Krushchev.
- \_\_\_ 4. 1960s U.S. Defense Secretary, current opponent of "Star Wars":  
(a) Mahan; (b) McNamara; (c) Mondale.

**D. MAKE A GRAPH**

The 1984 U.S. budget was \$854 billion. Show and label the following shares of this budget on a pie graph: (a) Defense-\$250 billion; (b) Health and Human Services-\$296 billion; (c) Treasury-\$138 billion; (d) All other branches, departments and agencies-\$170 billion.

**E. BELIEVE IT?**

Check the event(s) that actually occurred.

- \_\_\_ 1. An American President called the world's first multinational arms-limitation conference.
- \_\_\_ 2. In the early 1900s, the U.S. asked an international court of arbitration to resolve several cases in which our nation had an interest.
- \_\_\_ 3. Japan once spent a third of its national budget to build a navy.
- \_\_\_ 4. After World War I, Germany was forced to disarm almost completely.
- \_\_\_ 5. The U.S. once offered to halt all major naval construction for 10 years.

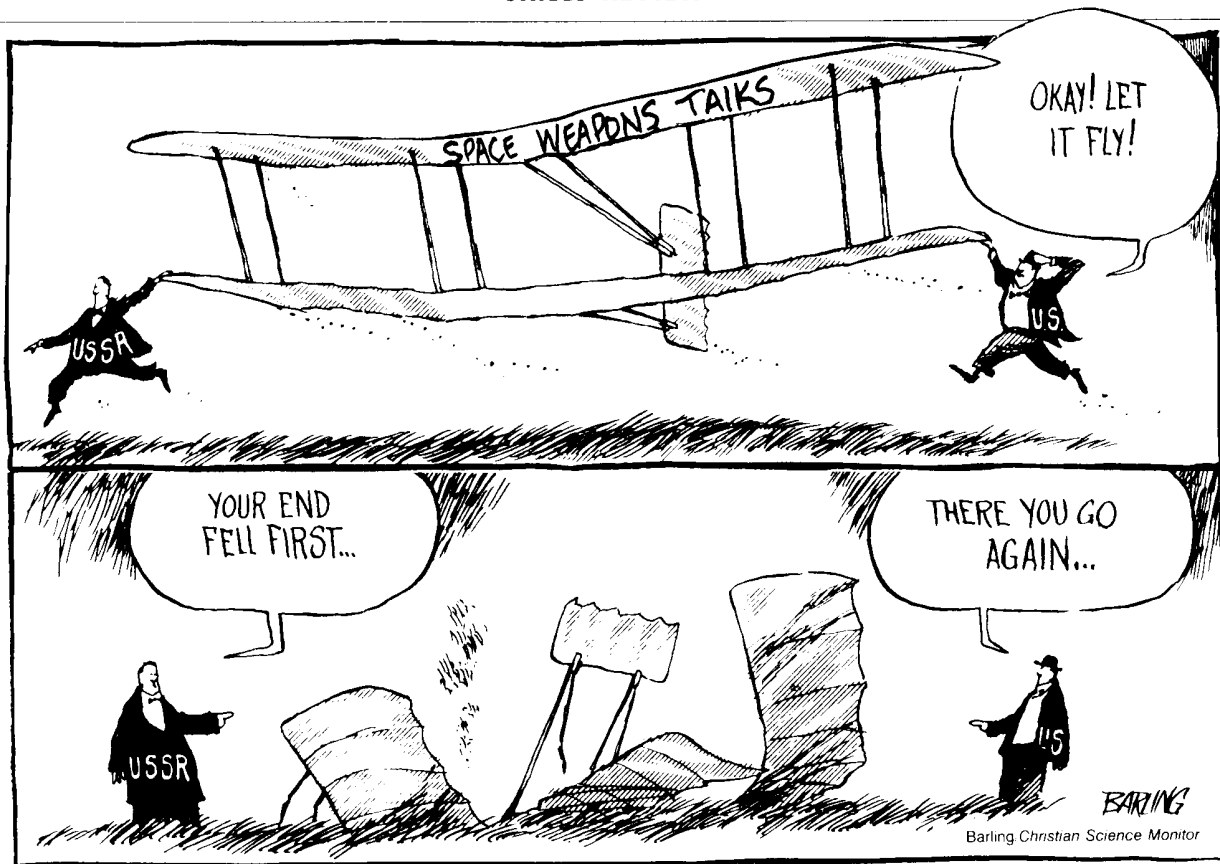
**F. POSITION 1 OR 2?**

Read the summary opinions below on President Reagan's proposed SDI ("Star Wars") program. Use the reverse side of this paper to write an editorial defending EITHER position. Give specific details to support your answer. BONUS: Identify the authors of both statements.

1. "... SDI is designed to examine new technologies to see whether we can reduce the risk of war, . . . to see whether we can move away from sole reliance on the threat of nuclear retaliation as the basis for deterrence."

2. "If we go ahead with the SDI program as rapidly as planned, . . . the Russians will reply by expanding their offensive arsenal, and any hope of negotiating reductions will evaporate."

# SKILLS REVIEW



- A. List THREE symbols used in this cartoon, and state what each represents, literally.

Symbols

What They Represent

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_

1. \_\_\_\_\_
2. \_\_\_\_\_
3. \_\_\_\_\_

- B. Select ONE symbol listed in your answer to A, and state why you think the cartoonist used it as he did. (What effect was he trying to achieve? What did he want the reader to "see," through this symbol?)

Symbol. \_\_\_\_\_

Cartoonist's purpose in using it. \_\_\_\_\_

- C. If a Soviet intelligence agent in Moscow saw this cartoon, what conclusion(s) might he or she draw about current American attitudes toward U.S.-U.S.S.R. arms talks? Explain.

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

- D. Use the reverse side of this paper to draw or describe a cartoon on some aspect of nuclear arms talks between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Give your cartoon a caption.